

A HISTORY OF DUNSTER



A HISTORY OF
DUNSTER



L. L. Moore

1550

Sir John Luttrell.

A HISTORY OF DUNSTER

AND OF THE FAMILIES OF
MOHUN & LUTTRELL

BY

SIR H.C. MAXWELL LYTE, K.C.B.

Deputy Keeper of the Records.

PART I

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P R E F A C E

In 1880 and 1881, I contributed to the *Archæological Journal* a series of papers on 'Dunster and its Lords,' which were afterwards reprinted for private circulation, together with a descriptive sketch of Dunster Castle by the late Mr. G. T. Clark, and a chapter on the Siege and Surrender of Dunster Castle by Mr. E. Green. In the years that have since elapsed, I have collected a great deal of fresh material, and I have now thrown the result of my researches into a different form, re-writing the book from beginning to end and enlarging it threefold.

The successive owners of the Castle have always been so predominant in Dunster that I have again made the general history of the place centre in the Mohuns and Luttrells. It has, however, seemed expedient to devote a separate chapter to the Castle in which they dwelt, and another to the remarkable church in which the parishioners worshipped.

In view of the growing interest in the history of economics and social life, I have written an entirely new chapter on the Borough and the Manor, mainly based upon the court-rolls. A chapter on the topography of Dunster may be of some local interest. As the parish comprises the manors of Avill, Staunton and Alcombe, and the reputed manor of Foremarsh, or at any rate the greater part of them, I have traced their respective histories briefly, but without any

attempt to give biographies of their successive owners. The accounts of different branches of the families of Mohun and Luttrell not directly connected with Dunster printed in the Appendixes were intended to be mere genealogical outlines, but they have extended to such a length that I have, at the last moment, found it desirable to divide the book into two parts, paged consecutively.

A few words must be said with regard to the original authorities upon which this volume is based, although no explanation is necessary in the case of printed books, or of MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the College of Arms, the Lambeth Library, and other great collections. Much of my material has been derived from the muniments at Dunster Castle, which are very rich in conveyances of land, court-rolls, and other documents relating to the estate. They were arranged in thirty-eight boxes by William Prynne, the celebrated controversialist, during his imprisonment at Dunster Castle in the middle of the seventeenth century, and his general catalogue of them was afterwards much improved by Narcissus Luttrell, a man of some literary repute. In the footnotes to the present work, the muniments at Dunster Castle are indicated by the letters — D. C. M., followed by the number of the box and by that of the particular document quoted.

When using manuscripts in the same collection subsequent to 1650, I have not been able to give specific references, the classification of them being as yet incomplete. Most of these later manuscripts relate to land or to matters of business, almost all the old family correspondence having been long since destroyed as useless. The preservation of numerous letters and papers concerning elections for the parlia-

mentary borough of Minehead may have been due to an idea that they might furnish precedents.

There was, in the eighteenth century, a collection of nearly a hundred medieval documents in Dunster Church, relating to the rights of the burgesses and the endowments of the local chantries. Many of the more important of them have disappeared, a former incumbent of the parish having apparently considered himself free to do what he would with such things. A century ago, a well-known antiquary unblushingly referred to some of the originals as being in his own possession; one of them has found its way to the Castle. The former contents of one of the three ancient chests in the Church are now represented by a volume of indifferent transcripts made in 1716, which is in the possession of Mr. Luttrell. I have referred to this as D. C. B.

In June 1908, when the earlier part of the present book had been already printed, there was offered for sale by auction in London, a folio volume of 170 leaves of parchment catalogued as "*Cartularium et feodarium Dominorum de Mohun*".¹ On inspection, this proved to be a fragment of the important compilation made, in 1350, by John Osberne, Constable of Dunster Castle, as mentioned on page 49 and elsewhere. The originals of many of the documents transcribed into it had disappeared before Prynne's time, but it is interesting to note that such of them as still remain in Mr. Luttrell's muniment-room are endorsed "*irrotulatur*," in evidence that they had been duly entered in the cartulary. I was not so fortunate as to secure this manuscript at the sale, and I have not been able to obtain direct access to it since.

¹ Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge's *Catalogue of the Phillipp's Collection*, Lot 545.

The present owner, however, who wishes to remain anonymous, has very kindly supplied me with full transcripts of some of its contents, notably the treatise on agriculture mentioned on page 321, and the agreement between the monks and the parishioners of Dunster mentioned on page 393. I take this opportunity of thanking him.

The volume mentioned above, contains one passage which I have quoted in Latin (page 351) from a series of extracts made by Richard St. George, Norroy King of Arms, in 1610, when the cartulary belonged to Sir Reynold Mohun of Boconnoc. The remainder of St. George's extracts, to which I have occasionally referred, came from leaves which are now unfortunately missing.

Some particulars about the foundation of Newenham Abbey given in Chapter I, are taken from a transcript kindly lent to me by the late Mr. John Brooking Rowe, of Plympton, of a register of that monastery in the Phillipps Library at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham.

Another manuscript source of information has been a "Historical account of the family of the Lutterells, from the Conquest, collected from records, history, pedigrees and registers, by Narcissus Luttrell, Esq." This is a collection of notes arranged in successive reigns down to 1729, which have in some cases guided me to original authorities, and in other cases supplied genealogical particulars about the younger branches of the Luttrell family. The manuscript was at one time the property of Dr. Luttrell Wynne, grandson of the compiler's sister, and it seems to have passed to Mr. Edward W. Stackhouse, whose heir, Mr. W. C. Pendarves very appropriately gave it to the present owner of Dunster Castle.

Mr. E. Green has again kindly permitted me to reprint, with some trifling verbal alterations, his paper on the Siege and Surrender of Dunster Castle. It is now incorporated with my own text, and divided into two sections, extending respectively from page 180 to page 182, and from page 187 to page 194. I am much indebted to him in the matter.

In quoting from documents written in Latin or French, I have translated as literally as circumstances would permit, giving any interesting or doubtful words in the original language. In English quotations, I have, through the force of habit, retained the old spelling, while extending abbreviations and punctuating according to sense. Dates between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, the old beginning of the year, have been given throughout according to modern practise.

I have not thought it necessary to cumber my pages, already too full of the names of obscure persons, with lists of the owners of property at Dunster at different periods. My friend Mr. Hancock, the present Vicar of the parish, has printed lists of the churchwardens and overseers, copies of epitaphs, and extracts from the local registers. His monograph on the Church and Priory has been constantly by my side, but I have been constrained to differ from him on some historical points and in the interpretation of various documents.

Most of the full-page illustrations that appeared in my former book were printed from stones long since destroyed. In place of them, there is now a much larger series of illustrations, executed by photographic processes of the Swan Engraving Company and others. The view of the Gateway of the Lower Ward (p. 351) is from a negative by Miss Luttrell. All

the others are from my own negatives of landscapes, buildings, portraits and other objects. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe very kindly sent the great Luttrell carpet from Cotehele to Dunster, so that it might be examined and photographed. The woodcuts of the Mohun and Luttrell Seals were drawn, in 1880, by my wife and the late Professor Delamotte, for the *Archæological Journal*.

Mr. Luttrell has not only given me every facility for consulting his manuscripts and for taking photographs in the Castle, but has also shown a continual and appreciative interest in my work. Mr. J. H. Davis, his sub-agent, has also been very helpful, especially with regard to the topography of the town. While dealing with difficult architectural problems connected with the Church, I have received many valuable suggestions from Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. F. Bligh Bond, and Mr. F. C. Eeles. To Mr. W. A. Lindsay, Windsor Herald, and Mr. Everard Green, Rougedragon Pursuivant, I am indebted for access to manuscripts in the College of Arms. Other friends have helped me in various ways, and I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks to several of my colleagues at the Public Record Office, especially Mr. Harley Rodney, who has examined the proof sheets.

3 PORTMAN SQUARE.

March 1909.

H. C. M. L.

INTRODUCTION

Dunster is situate in the Hundred of Carhampton, in the western division of the county of Somerset, 162 miles from London, 22 from Taunton, and 15 from the confines of Devonshire. The parish is bounded on the north by the Bristol Channel, on the east and south by the parishes of Carhampton, Luxborough, Timberscombe, and Wootton Courtenay, and on the west by that of Minehead. It contains 2870 acres, of which about a third are uncultivated. The rateable value is 4933/.

A ridge known anciently as Grobfast, and now as Grabbist, rises in the parish to a height of 760 feet above the sea, while the rich pastures below are only a few feet above the level of high tide. The little town of Dunster stands on a saddleback, sheltered on the south by the hanging woods and the heathery uplands of the Park, on the west by the steep slopes of Grabbist, and on the north by those of Conygar, where oaks and hollies have taken the place of rough pasture frequented by rabbits. At the southeastern extremity of the town is the isolated, conical hill known as the 'Tor', for centuries crowned by the defensive works of a mighty castle.

The views from the higher ground in the parish of Dunster are remarkable for their beauty and variety. Although comparatively circumscribed on the south by a bare spur of the Brendon Hills, they extend westward

up the rich vale of Avill to Dunkery, the highest point of Exmoor, and one of the highest points in the west of England. On the north, they command a long stretch of the Welsh Coast, backed by the Brecon Beacons and other mountains. Eastward, they range over a great expanse of sea and land, the Flat Holmes, the Steep Holmes, Brean Down at the end of the Mendip Hills, the alabaster cliffs near Watchet, and the long line of the Quantocks, being prominent features in the landscape.

The parish is traversed by a clear stream descending from Exmoor, formerly known as the Dunster River, but now usually called the Avill, which supplied motive power for several grist-mills, and for various fulling-mills now disused. Numerous rills flowing out of it irrigate the rich meadows on either side. In the lower part of its course, the main stream is now the boundary between the parishes of Dunster and Carhampton. After winding its way through alluvial land near Marsh, it discharges into the Bristol Channel by the Hawn, the ancient haven of Dunster, frequently mentioned in medieval documents, but now silted up.

The site of Dunster must have been known to the Roman colonists of Britain, for some copper coins of the reigns of Maximian and Constantine were found, about 1863, in the Park, close to the former highway from Gallocks Cross to Carhampton. Its recorded history, however, does not begin before the time of Edward the Confessor, when it belonged to a certain Ælfric (Aluric), who also held Broadwood, Avill, and Bratton, in the immediate neighbourhood. All these places were bestowed by William the Conqueror upon William de Moion, one of his Norman followers, the first of a long series of feudal barons.

The site of William de Moion's castle is described in the Exchequer Domesday as 'Torre', and in the Exeter Domesday as 'Torra'. In a charter granted by him to the monks of Bath, between the years 1090 and 1100, the place is called 'Dunestore' and 'Donesthorra'. The second part of the compounded name indicates a projecting rock, like the Tors of Devonshire and Derbyshire. The origin of the first part of the name is less certain. Inasmuch as the place is never called Duntor, or Dunetor, any interpretation must take account of the 's' or 'es' which always precedes the final syllable. Two alternatives seem possible. Dunster may have been the 'tor' of the dunes, or hills; or it may have been the 'tor' of a man named Dun. In support of the latter theory, it may be observed that among the estates granted to William de Moion by the Conqueror were one at Exford which had belonged to Domno or Donnus, and another at Elworthy which had belonged to Dunne or Dunna.

Ecclesiastically, Dunster is in the Archdeaconry of Taunton, and it gives its name to the Deanery of which it is the chief place. Its cruciform church is, from an architectural point of view, the most important in the neighbourhood. The parish comprises the ancient manors of Dunster, Avill, Staunton and Alcombe, and part of the reputed manor of Foremarsh. The population, which was 772 in 1801, had risen to 1184 by 1851, since which time it has been practically stationary. The local woollen industry being extinct, most of the inhabitants are connected with agriculture. There are various shops in the town of Dunster, and a few at Alcombe.

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A HISTORY OF
DUNSTER

CHAPTER I.

THE MOHUNS OF DUNSTER

1066—1404.

WILLIAM DE MOHUN, the progenitor of the noble house which held Dunster for more than three centuries, and flourished afterwards in Cornwall and Dorset, took his name from Moyon near St. Lo in Normandy, in which country the family had considerable possessions until its separation from the crown of England. His descendants in turn gave their name to Hammoon in Dorset, to Ottery Mohun and Tormoham in Devon, and to Grange Mohun in the county of Kildare. In England, their surname was spelt at different times Moion and Moyon, Moïun and Moyun, Moun, Mooun, Moyhun and Mohun, and just as the illustrious name of Bohun degenerated into Boon, that of Mohun got corrupted into Moon¹. With regard to the pronounciation of it, there is an interesting note of the fourteenth century to the effect that the change from Moion to Mohun had involved the loss of a syllable.²

The domain of Moyon is mentioned in 1027 as part of the dower of Adela, Duchess of Normandy, but nothing whatever is known as to the parentage of William de Mohun who came over to England

¹ For the sake of uniformity, the name will be given as Mohun in the

following pages, except in quotations.

² *Devon Notes & Queries*, vol. iv. p. 20.

with William the Conqueror.¹ There is an oft-repeated statement that he then had in his retinue fifty-seven (or forty-seven) "stout knights of name and repute," and a narrative in old French professes to enumerate them. It begins :—

"Be it known that in the year of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand and sixty-six, on Saturday the feast of St. Calixtus, came William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, cousin of the noble king St. Edward, the son of Emma of England, and killed King Harold and took away the land from him by the aid of the Normans and other men of other lands ; among whom came with him Sir William de Moion the old, the noblest of all the host. This William de Moion had in his retinue in the host all the great lords after named, as it is written in the Book of the Conquerors."

Then follows a list of fifty-seven names, among which may be noticed those of Marmion, Paignel, Basqueville, Corcye, Lacy, Columbers, Bullebek, Tregoz, Montfichet, and Bigot.² This has been described as "a following worthy of an Emperor." When, however, we turn to Wace's *Roman de Rou*, we there find the same names standing in the same order, but with this important difference that of William de Mohun we read only :—

"*Le viel Willam de Moion
Out avec li maint compaignon.*"

Wace does not even hint that the knights whose names follow that of Mohun were in any way dependent on him, and it is now practically certain that the whole story is due to an unscrupulous Abbot of Newenham who wished to gratify the vanity of the Mohuns living in the middle of the fourteenth

¹ *Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie* (ed. Stapleton), vol. i. pp. lxxxii, lxxxiii.

² Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 202.

century.¹ As Mr. Planché remarks, this writer might "have included half the army if an unmistakeable full stop and change of subject had not pulled him up short with the death of Robert Fitz Erneis. Le Livre des Conquerors turns out to be the Roman de Rou." ²

Although William de Mohun is styled '*le viel*,' it does not follow that he was aged at the time of the Norman Conquest, the epithet being applied to distinguish him from his namesake who was living when Wace wrote his poem.

Turning from fable to fact, we find that William de Mohun was a person of considerable importance in the reign of William the Conqueror, who assigned to him a large estate in the west of England, formed by the aggregation of lands that had belonged to various Englishmen killed or ejected. At the time of the Domesday Survey of 1086, he held fifty-six separate manors in Somerset, eleven in Dorset, one in Devon and one in Wiltshire. The greater number of these had already been apportioned by him to different tenants, to be held of him and his heirs on the usual conditions of military service. Several of these tenants had more than one manor apiece. Most of them bore Norman names and were doubtless men who had come over in the train of the Conqueror. In one case, an Englishman had been suffered to continue in possession, although placed in subjection to the new Norman lord.³

Eighteen of the manors in Somerset and six of those in Dorset remained in William de Mohun's

¹ *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. iv. pp. 249-250.

² *The Conqueror and his Companions*, i vol. ii. p. 22.

³ "Brictric holds of William Sordemaneford. The same Brictric held it in the time of King Edward." *Domesday Book*, f. 96.

own hands in 1086, but the number was gradually reduced by the enfeoffment of fresh knights and by grants to several religious houses. Some of the manors most distant from Dunster were also exchanged with the king, before the year 1100, for that of Carhampton and the Hundred of the same name. One effect of this was that the little Hundreds of Cutcombe and Minehead, which are mentioned in the Gheld Inquest of 1084, became ere long absorbed into the Hundred of Carhampton. The castle built by William de Mohun on the isolated Tor which gave its name to Dunster, became the head of an important Honour, or Barony, comprising forty knights' fees in the reign of Henry the First, and afterwards enlarged. The manors retained in demesne about the middle of the twelfth century were those of Dunster, Minehead, Cutcombe, Kilton and Carhampton in Somerset, and Ham in Dorset.

Reverting to Domesday, it is worthy of notice that William de Mohun kept thirty-six brood mares at Cutcombe and twenty-two at Brewham at the other end of the county. He was Sheriff of Somerset at the time of the Gheld Inquest of 1084 and at that of the great survey of 1086. Indeed it is probable that he held office for a considerable period, and that he was sometimes known as 'William the Sheriff.'¹ His estate at Stockland came to be called 'the Sheriff's town,' afterwards corrupted into 'Shereveton' or 'Shurton,' and some of his land near Kilton is still known as 'Shervidge.'² On the other hand his manor of Sheriff's Brompton (*Brunetone Vicecomitis*) eventually lost that name and became Brompton

¹ *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 3.

² Shroton in Dorset and Shrewton in

Wilts alike belonged to sheriffs in 1086.

Ralph, when held under the lord of Dunster by Ralph son of William son of Durand de Mohun.

A translation of the charter of the first William de Mohun to the monks of Bath will be given in a subsequent chapter, and in this place it is only necessary to observe that it mentions his wife Adelisa, his sons Geoffrey and Robert and his brother Wilmund. Durand the steward (*dapifer*) also mentioned in it seems to have been known later as Durand de Mohun, but it is impossible to say whether he was a relation of the Norman lords of Dunster or merely a native of Moyon who held under them.

WILLIAM DE MOHUN THE SECOND was almost certainly a son of the Conqueror's companion in arms.¹ Whether he was the firstborn is more problematical in view of the fact that he is not named, either as a consenting party or as a witness, in the very important charter by which his predecessor granted the church of Dunster and other endowments to the monks of Bath. The earliest notice of him is in the year 1131, when he attended the council of Northampton.² Seven years later, he is mentioned as one of the principal nobles who espoused the cause of the Empress Maud against Stephen, his castle of Dunster being reckoned as one of the main strongholds of her party.³ In describing the events of 1138, a hostile chronicler writes as follows :—

“ At that time, William de Moiuin, a man not only of the highest rank but also of illustrious lineage, raised a mighty revolt against the King, and, collecting some bands

¹ A charter of William de Mohun, which may be ascribed to the third of that name, confirms the gifts made to the church of Dunster by his grand-

father and his father. D. C. M. xvi. 7.

² *Sarum Charters*, (R. S.) p. 7.

³ *Henry of Huntingdon*, (R. S.) p. 261.

of horsemen and footmen at his fortress, which he had placed in a fair and impregnable position by the sea-shore, began to overrun all that part of England in warlike manner, sweeping it as with a whirlwind. At all places and at all times, laying aside his loyalty, he set himself to work his cruel will, to subdue by violence not only his neighbours but others living afar off, to oppress with robbery and pillage, with fire and sword, any who resisted, and mercilessly to subject all wealthy persons whom he met to chains and tortures. By so doing, he changed a realm of peace and quiet, of joy and merriment, into a scene of strife and rebellion, weeping and lamentation.

“ When in course of time these doings were made known to the king, he gathered his adherents together in a mighty host and marched with all speed to put an end to William’s savagery. But when he came to a halt before the entrance of the castle and saw the impregnable defences of the place, inaccessible on the one side where it was washed by the tide and very strongly fortified on the other by towers and walls, by a rampart (*vallo*) and outworks, he gave up all hope of carrying it by siege, and, taking wiser counsels, blockaded the castle in full view of the enemy, so that he might the better hold them in check and occupy the neighbouring country in security. He also gave orders to Henry de Tracy, a skilled soldier, oft approved in the hazards of war, that acting in his stead, because he was called away to other business, he should with all promptitude and diligence bestir himself against the enemy.

“ Henry therefore, in the King’s absence, set forth from Barnstaple, a town belonging to him and enjoying privileges granted to him by the King, and made vigorous and determined attacks on his foes, so that he not only restrained their wonted sallies and their unbridled, marauding raids in the neighbourhood, but also captured a hundred and four horsemen in one cavalry encounter. At length, he so reduced and humbled William that he was able to abandon further hostilities against him and to leave the country more peaceful and free from such disturbance. ”¹

¹ *Gesta Stephani*, (R. S.) pp. 51, 52.



DUNSTER CASTLE,
FROM THE RIVER.

Considering that the writer shows a minute knowledge of places in the west of England such as Bristol, Bath and Exeter, it may seem strange that he should describe Dunster Castle as situate on the coast. There is, however, no doubt that the sea in that neighbourhood has receded considerably since his time, and it has been suggested as possible that the low ground on the east was sometimes flooded.

Tracy's operations certainly did not reduce William de Mohun to final subjection, and his royal mistress set so high a value on his services to her that she raised him to the rank of an earl between the months of April and June 1141. Under the name of 'Earl William de Moion,' he was a witness to a charter issued by her at Westminster at Midsummer in that year.¹ The anonymous chronicler already quoted is in error both as to the date of the creation and as to the title bestowed, for he says that at the siege of Winchester, which was in August and September 1141, the Empress created William de Mohun Earl of Dorset.² There is no doubt that William de Mohun styled himself 'Earl of Somerset.'³ In most cases, he is described simply as 'the Earl.'⁴ The chronicler's confusion as to the title is pardonable in view of the fact that for administrative purposes Somerset and Dorset were often reckoned as one county, having a sheriff in common.

Some years before this, William de Mohun had married a lady named Agnes, who seems to have brought to him and his descendants the manor of Whichford, situate in Warwickshire but formerly

Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 52, 87; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i, p. 150.
pp. 93, 95, 96, 277.

² *Gesta Stephani*, p. 80.

⁴ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 5, 54, 56, 66, 230, 231.

³ *Bruton Cartulary* (S.R.S.), nos. 1, 2,

belonging to Northamptonshire. Although the name of her father is not stated, a suggestion may be offered with some confidence that she was a daughter of Walter of Gaunt, who, as a grandson of Baldwin Count of Flanders, was first cousin to William the Second and Henry the First, Kings of England and Dukes of Normandy. Such a connexion might account for the chronicler's allusion to the very high social position of her husband. Certain it is that Whichford belonged to Gilbert of Gaunt in 1086, that his son Walter founded a priory of Augustinian canons at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that William de Mohun and Agnes his wife gave the church of Whichford to that priory in the reign of Henry the First.¹ Without some such explanation, it would be difficult to account for this benefaction to a religious house situate so far from Dunster. The grant, however, seems to have been limited to the lifetimes of William and Agnes, for the advowson afterwards reverted to the Mohuns and was enjoyed by them and their descendants, the Stranges and the Stanleys, until the reign of Elizabeth.²

The favour of the Earl of Somerset to the Augustinian order was further shown by his establishment of a priory at Bruton, in the eastern part of the county of Somerset. The charters by which he granted to the regular canons the church of that place, with its tithes, dues, and rights, and common pasture in his manor of Brewham, bear no date, but may be referred to the year 1142.³ It was by his advice that one of his feudal tenants, Robert son of Geoffrey, bestowed upon them the church of

¹ *Domesday Book*, f. 227^b; Dugdale's *Monasticon* vol. vi, pp. 285-287.

² Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwick-*

shire, (ed. 1765) pp. 417, 418.

³ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 1, 2, 376; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 335.

Luxborough near Dunster, of which he increased the endowment.¹

A grant of some land at Lydeard to the Augustinian canons of Taunton by William de Mohun may be attributed either to the Earl of Somerset or his son.²

The Earl of Somerset had by Agnes his wife six sons :—

Ralph, for the benefit of whose soul he gave some land at Avelham to the church of Dunster.³

William, his successor.

Henry, who seems to have inherited the maternal estate at Whichford, as, in 1162, he paid scutage for a knight's fee in Warwickshire.⁴ A person of the same name was connected with Hampshire in 1167.⁵

Ivan.⁶

Richard, a clerk, beneficed on the paternal estate in Normandy, but generally resident in England.⁷

Peter, also a clerk.⁸

WILLIAM DE MOHUN THE THIRD was a witness to his father's charter in favour of the Augustinian canons of Bruton.⁹ He seems to have succeeded him in or before 1155, as the Pipe Rolls, which then begin to be continuous, do not record any payment by him to the Crown by way of relief on the death of his father. He did not style himself Earl of Somerset, King Stephen having presumably declined to recognise that title as conferred by the Empress Maud. In some of his earlier charters, he is described

¹ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 230, 232.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 166.

³ D.C.M. xvi, 7.

⁴ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 1, 75; *Pipe Roll*, 8 Hen. II, p. 2.

⁵ *Pipe Roll*, 13 Hen. II, p. 189.

⁶ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 1, 4, 66, 69, 71, 230, 430.

⁷ *Ibid.* nos. 1, 64, 75, 230, 399, 400, 401; *Calendar of documents in France* (ed. Round), vol. i. p. 176.

⁸ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 1, 230.

⁹ *Ibid.* no. 1.

as William de Mohun 'the younger (*juvenis*).’ For the benefit of the souls of his father William, his mother Agnes, and his brethren, he gave to the Augustinian canons of Bruton, sixty acres near the pond at Brewham and pannage for a hundred hogs in Selwood Forest.¹ He furthermore endowed them with the church of Cutcombe near Dunster, the church of Lyons, in Normandy, with the tithe of his fisheries there, and property at Brewham and Redlinch.² He also confirmed the gifts of his grandfather and father to the Benedictine monks of Bath.³

In the time of the third William de Mohun, the Honour of Dunster comprised forty-six and a half fees held by different military tenants. It may fairly be surmised that the number had been originally fixed at forty and that one had been acquired by marriage. Five and a half knights' fees are distinctly stated to have been "of the new feoffment," that is to say creations of the period subsequent to the reign of Henry the First, and when an aid was levied, in 1168, on account of the marriage of the King's daughter, William de Mohun refused to pay on more than forty-one, persisting in this refusal until the end of his life.⁴ In Normandy too he had eleven knights under him, although he was accountable to his royal master for only five.⁵

William de Mohun the third married a lady named Godehold, who brought to him, as her inheritance or portion, the manor of Brinkley, in Cambridgeshire.⁶

¹ *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 4.

² *Ibid.* nos. 66, 67, 69, 71, 75, 221, 226, 395, 397.

³ D.C.M. xvi. 7.

⁴ *Pipe Rolls*, 14 *Hen. II.* p. 143; 15

Hen. II. p. 3; 22 *Hen. II.* p. 155.

⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer* (R. S.) p. 629.

⁶ *Curia Regis Roll*, no. 48, m. 7^a.

He died in 1176, and she was apparently dead in 1186.¹ They had issue several children :—

William, successor to his father.

Geoffrey, who was enfeoffed by his brother of the manor of Ham, in Dorset. This he forfeited by espousing the cause of John, Count of Mortain, against his brother King Richard.²

John, ancestor of the Mohuns of Ham.³

Thomas, who had the churches of Moyon and Tessy sur-Vire, and perhaps other ecclesiastical benefices in Normandy and England.⁴

Robert.⁵

Agnes, who married William of Windsor. She had for her portion an estate at and near Bicknoller, which her descendants for several generations held of the Honour of Dunster by military service.⁶

WILLIAM DE MOHUN THE FOURTH was, while a boy, named as a witness to a charter of his father in favour of the canons of Bruton.⁷ Being still under age at the death of his father in 1176, he became a ward of the King. Richard, Bishop of Winchester was soon appointed to look after him and to administer his estates. The normal rent of the manors was 44*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* but part of Dunster is described as “waste ;” the tolls there did not yield the amount expected ; and the mills of Dunster and Carhampton alike showed a decline in revenue. There were also some charges for the repair of the mill, the cultivation of the vineyard, and the wages of servants. On

¹ *Pipe Roll*, 22 Hen. II. p. 155 ; *Calendar of documents in France* (ed. Round), vol. i. p. 780.

² *Pipe Rolls*.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ *Calendar of documents in France*,

vol. i. p. 178.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 283.

⁶ Pole MS. at Queen's College, Oxford, f. 64^b ; Feet of Fines, Somerset, 20 Hen. III. (Green, i. 85.)

⁷ *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 397.

the other hand, the King got 19*l.* clear from the sale of corn and wine from the lands in demesne which were not reckoned in the rental. By royal order, a sum of 18*l.* was allowed for the maintenance of the heir for a year and a half.¹ His mother presumably had dower at Minehead or Kilton, in addition to her own property at Brinkley.

William de Mohun appears to have received livery of his lands in 1177, as the Crown then ceased to get the profits of them. There is, however, a very perplexing entry in the Pipe Roll of 1182, where the Sheriff accounts for 12*s.* 4*d.* derived "from the wreck of Dunestor." On the one hand it suggests that the lord of that place was entitled to wreck of sea on part of the southern coast of the Bristol Channel; on the other hand it shows that receipts from that franchise were paid into the Exchequer.

Following the example of his father, William de Mohun the fourth described himself as 'the younger' in his earliest charter to the canons of Bruton, but afterwards dropped that designation.² He confirmed to them all the gifts of his grandfather, his father, and his different tenants in England and Normandy, and added to their endowments the church and the mill of Minehead and the tithe of the mills of Cutcombe.³ He furthermore made over to them all his right of ecclesiastical patronage at Brinkley, Minehead and Todbere in England, and at Moyon, Tessy-sur-Vire, Beaucoudrai and Deodville in Normandy, subject to the life interest of his brother Thomas.⁴ Finally he gave them the right of choosing

¹ *Pipe Roll*, 23 *Hen. II.* p. 25.

² *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 5.

³ *Ibid.* nos. 223, 224, 240, 245.

⁴ *Calendar of documents in France*, vol. i, p. 178.

a prior from among themselves, upon condition that they should present the person so chosen to him or his heirs, whether in England or in Normandy¹. This condition was faithfully observed for generation after generation, and when the main line of the Mohuns became extinct, the canons continued the practice, by presenting their priors elect to the Luttrells of Dunster, as successors in title, though not in blood, to the older lords of that place.² In the middle of the fourteenth century, there was a very ancient custom that whenever the lord or lady of Dunster went to stay at Bruton Priory, the canons should provide two wax candles to burn all night in the bedroom.³

By a charter published at Montchaton in 1186, William de Mohun granted the tithe of his mills at Moyon, Tessy-sur-Vire and Beaucoudrai to the Premonstratensian canons of La Luzerne, on condition that they should keep his anniversary, and that one of their number, in perpetual succession, should be specially bound to offer prayers for the soul of his mother Godeheut.⁴

In arranging that his anniversary should be kept at Bruton Priory year after year, William de Mohun mentioned his purpose of going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and it is quite possible that he died abroad.⁵ The date of his death may be placed in October 1193, but several months elapsed before William de Ste. Mere Eglise took possession of the Honour of Dunster in the King's name, the heir

¹ *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 7; Patent Roll, 20 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 24.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 2, 3, 5, 8 13, 14, 18, 25. Hist. MSS. Comm. *Tenth Report*, App. VI. p. 78.

³ St. George's extracts from the Mohun Chronicle.

⁴ *Calendar of documents in France*, vol. i. p. 282. Cf. Add. Charter 13414.

⁵ *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 245.

being a minor.¹ The Honour of Moyon in Normandy was about the same time committed to the charge of Richard de Humez.² The dower of Lucy de Mohun, William's relict, included only seven of his English fees, approximately a sixth of the whole number.³ She eventually obtained from the Crown a lease of his paternal estate at Moyon in Normandy for a yearly rent of 50*l.* and a fine of 20*l.*⁴

William de Mohun the fourth and Lucy his wife had issue two sons, William and Reynold. The former is named as a witness to three of his father's charters at a time when he was clearly under age⁵. It is, however, impossible to say whether he survived his father. For some ten years, the Honour of Dunster remained in the hands of the King and was administered by his agents William de Ste. Mere Eglise, William of Wrotham, Nicholas Puinz, Reynold of Clifton, Hugh de Gurnai and Hubert de Burgh. The income was mainly from Dunster and Carhampton, and the outgoings were very small. At the Castle itself a doorkeeper and a watchman were maintained by royal order, but the accounts say nothing about the wardship of the heir. A clerk named Richard who had a pension of the gift of William de Mohun, may have been the last surviving son of the Earl of Somerset.⁶

There was some trouble at Dunster, perhaps political, between the death of Richard the First, and the coronation of his brother.⁷

¹ *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, (ed. Stapleton) vol. ii. p. x; Pipe Roll.

² *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, vol. i. p. 244.

³ *Rotulus Cancellarii, 3 Johannis*, pp. 143, 209; *Rotuli de Oblatis &c.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, vol. ii. p. 296.

⁵ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 6, 7, 73.

⁶ Pipe Rolls, 6-10 Ric. I. and 1-7 John; *Rotulus Cancellarii, 3 Johannis*, pp. 198, 205-211.

⁷ *Rotuli Curie Regis*, vol. ii. p. 121.

When King John was at Le Mans in January 1203, he gave orders to the seneschal of Normandy to deliver to Hubert de Burgh, the Chamberlain, all the land of Reynold de Mohun in that duchy, except some that had been committed to another person¹. At the beginning of May, when he was at Falaise, we read :—

“ Hubert de Burgh, the Chamberlain, was commanded by letters patent to warn and induce Reynold de Moyhun to accept from the King an exchange in England for his land at Lyons near Caen, and for this cause to send him to the King, or else his letters patent.”²

In other words, a young man, legally under age, was to be compelled by his guardian to execute a deed surrendering part of his patrimony, unless he preferred to undertake a journey across the sea on the chance of obtaining tolerable terms from the King. The rolls of the period do not contain any further reference to the subject.

REYNOLD DE MOHUN obtained possession of Dunster Castle and the chief part of his inheritance in July 1204.³ Whichford, in Warwickshire, was made over to him some two months later, and he established his right to Brinkley, in Cambridgeshire, as the heir of Godehold de Mohun, who had owned the manor in fee.⁴ He seems to have taken a prominent part in the invasion of France in the summer of 1206, as the sheriff of Devon was then ordered to provide him with a ship at the King's expense.⁵ Four years later, he was one of the knights who accompanied John in his expedition to Ireland.⁶

¹ *Rotuli Normannie*, p. 68.

² *Rotuli Litt. Patentium*, vol. i. p. 29.

³ *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁴ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. p. 9;

Curia Regis Rolls, nos. 47, m. 3; 48, m. 7d.

⁵ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i.

pp. 71, 72.

⁶ *Rotuli de Liberate*, pp. 181, 204, 216.

To the canons of Bruton, Reynold de Mohun confirmed all the gifts of his ancestors, by two charters apparently issued on the same day, the one dealing with property in England and Normandy alike, and the other dealing exclusively with property in England.¹ On the separation of Normandy from England, he had to make his choice between King Philip and King John, and, as his chief estates lay in England, he declared in favour of the latter. The original possessions of his ancestors were consequently escheated to the French Crown.² There is some difficulty in tracing their subsequent history, but it appears that some of them were eventually recovered by a younger branch of the Mohun family. Although Alan de Avalgor is described as 'lord of Moyon' in 1254, an estate at Maisons which had belonged to the Mohuns of Dunster was, at a later date, in the possession of Joan de la Pommeraie, daughter of Henry de Moyon.³ A deed of 1290 shows that this lady was the relict of Gislain de la Pommeraie, and a niece of William de Courcy, and that she had had a brother named Henry de Moyon⁴. A certain William de Moyon also occurs in 1266, in connexion with Friardel.⁵ Some ruins of a castle may still be seen at Moyon, where it is now known as *Le vieux chateau d'Hainneville*, situate on high ground and protected by a broad, deep moat, full of water. It is believed to have once had a central keep and a double line of walls.⁶

¹ *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 58 ; Patent Rolls, 20 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 24 ; 36 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 22.

² *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, vol.ii. p. x.

³ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 424, 433, 434.

⁴ Danisy, *Archives du Calvados*, vol.i. p. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 406.

⁶ Information kindly obtained, in 1904, by M. Jules Lair, Membre de L'Institut, from the Archivist of La Manche.

Reynold de Mohun married Alice, one of the daughters of Sir William Briwere, a man of great consequence in his day.¹ By her he seems to have had issue four sons :—

Reynold, successor to his father.

William, a benefactor to Cleeve Abbey and the prime mover in the foundation of Newenham Abbey.² He married Juliana de Vernon.³ Dying at Norton, in Cornwall, in 1265, he was buried before the high altar at Newenham, near his elder brother.⁴

Baldwin, a priest. He was rector of Brinkley, in Cambridgeshire in 1261.⁵ Some five years later, he was presented by the Abbot of Newenham to the living of Luppit, in Devon, which he vacated in 1267.⁶

Richard.⁷

Reynold de Mohun of Dunster died in 1213, when he was barely thirty years of age. Alice his relict married secondly William Paynel of Bampton, in Devon, a Crusader, who died in 1228.⁸ Some five years later, she succeeded to a considerable estate in the west of England, on the death of her brother, William Briwere the younger.⁹ Through her the Mohuns inherited the manors of Torre, Ugborough, Cadleigh, Bradworthy and Axminster, in Devon, and Ile Brewer, in Somerset, and various knights' fees elsewhere.

¹ Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.* pp. 190, 362; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. vi. p. 299.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 733.

³ *Calendar of Inquisitions, Henry III.* p. 188; *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. ii. p. 327.

⁴ Oliver, p. 363.

⁵ Feet of Fines, Cambridge, 45 Hen. III.

⁶ Newenham Register f. 43; Bronescombe's Register, f. 36^b.

⁷ Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.* p. 39.

⁸ *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. i. pp. 167, 173; *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, pp. 24, 64.

⁹ *Excerpta*, p. 242; *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, pp. 228, 229, 311; *Testa de Nevill*, p. 200.

REYNOLD DE MOHUN THE SECOND was of course a minor at the time of his father's death, and Dunster passed into the hands of the Crown for the third time within thirty-eight years. In June 1213, King John committed to Henry Fitz-Count, bastard son of the Earl of Cornwall, the wardship of the heirs of Reynold de Mohun, with the castle of Dunster and various lands, saving to Alice the widow her marriage portion and dower at Whichford and elsewhere¹. In 1220, however, the ministers of Henry the Third transferred the "forest of Dunster," whatever that may be, to Peter de Maulay, to be safely kept by him during pleasure.² Furthermore, on the death of Henry Fitz-Count in 1222, a different arrangement was made, for while William Briwere was given the wardship of the demesne of Carhampton, the knights' fees, and the person of his grandson, the castle and the borough of Dunster were expressly reserved to the Crown.³ Other manors belonging to the inheritance must have been in the hands of a widow, Alice de Mohun or Lucy de Mohun. During the next few months, money was frequently issued to two crossbowmen named Vilers, who were placed in Dunster Castle by royal order.⁴

Reynold de Mohun received livery of his lands in or before 1227, when he levied an aid on his knights and free tenants, on the occasion of his being made a knight.⁵ He accompanied the King on his military expeditions into France in 1230 and into Wales in the following year.⁶ He was, however, more remarkable in peace than in war. In 1234, at a

¹ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 137, 242.

² *Ibid.* p. 418.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 518, 605; *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. i. p. 79.

⁴ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 492, 503, 508, 512, 524, 535.

⁵ *Patent Rolls*, 1225-1232, p. 107.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 311, 358; *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 550.

time when he was for some reason in debt to the Jews, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Bench, that is to say of the Court of Common Pleas.¹ Nine years later, he was constituted Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent.² In 1242, he went again to Wales.³ In 1252, he was appointed keeper of all the royal forests south of Trent, with a salary of a hundred marks for his maintenance, and it was doubtless in connexion with his new duties that he took a lease of Sauvey Castle in Leicestershire at a rent of five marks.⁴

Reynold de Mohun had many residences of his own in addition to Dunster Castle. In 1233, he had a house at Streatley, in Berkshire, which had come to him through his first wife.⁵ In 1252, he entered into an elaborate agreement with the Abbot and Convent of Torre, in Devonshire, concerning a private chapel which he proposed to build at his court-house there, for the exclusive use of himself and his family, his guests, and his domestic servants. The monks were careful to stipulate that the rite of baptism should not be administered therein and that half of the offerings made there should be handed over to them.⁶ Under the corrupted form of 'Tormoham,' the old parish of Torre still preserves the memory of the Mohuns who dwelt there, but no remains of their court-house are to be found among the modern villas of Torquay. In 1253, Reynold de Mohun obtained for himself and his heirs a grant of free warren at Dunster, at Whichford, in Warwickshire, and at Ottery, in Devon, with licence to hunt the hare,

¹ *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, pp. 346, 565, 570.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1232-1247, p. 279.

³ *Ibid.* p. 464.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1247-1258, pp. 155, 162; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. v. p. 340.

⁵ *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 226.

⁶ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol vii. p. 926.

the fox, the cat and the badger in Somerset and one other county.¹

The charters of Reynold de Mohun the second to the men of Dunster will be noticed in another chapter. It remains to say something about his benefactions to different religious bodies. His ancestors had done much for the church. Irrespectively of minor donations, the Mohuns had established Benedictine monks at Dunster and Augustinian canons at Bruton, and his grandfather, William Briwere, had founded no less than four separate houses, a Premonstratensian abbey at Torre, a Cistercian abbey at Dunkeswell, an Augustinian priory at Mottisfont, and a hospital at Bridgewater. Reynold de Mohun's benefactions were also diverse. To the monks of Dunster he gave 50 marks, and, apparently, two acres at Caremore near the sea.² That he was a warm friend to the Augustinian canons of Bruton is clear from his attestation of several grants to them and from the part which he took in the establishment of the vicarage of Minehead. He also renounced in their favour all his rights, as patron, during intervals when the office of prior might be vacant.³ To another house of the same order at Barlinch in Somerset, on the borders of Devonshire, he gave land at Mariansleigh, and the advowson of the church.⁴ To the Cistercian monks of Cleeve near Dunster he gave some land at Slaworthi, or Slowley, near Luxborough, to be held by service of an eighth part of a knight's fee.⁵ He is, however, to be remembered chiefly as the founder of Newenham Abbey in Devonshire.

¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. i. p. 431. Part of the enrolment has long been illegible. D.C.M. viii. 3.

² *Two Chartularies of Bath*. L. 901.

³ *Bruton Cartulary*, nos. 8, 237-239,

241, 243.

⁴ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 386.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 733; *Bruton Cartulary*, no. 234; British Museum, Add. MS. 11161.

The idea of establishing a new Cistercian house in the west of England originated with Sir William de Mohun, who offered to transfer some of his lands to his elder brother if the latter would provide a suitable site. Sir Reynold de Mohun entered readily into the scheme and gave him the choice of three manors, Minehead, Ottery Fleming, and Axminster. After an inspection of them by the Abbot of Beaulieu, Axminster was selected, and, in September 1245, Sir Reynold assigned that manor to his brother, upon condition that the foundation of an Abbey therein should be sanctioned by the King and by the Cistercian Order within eighteen months. He furthermore undertook to contribute a hundred marks a year to the proposed building. By the intercession of John Godard, one of the monks of Beaulieu, seconded by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the king's approval was obtained in July 1246.¹ Sir Reynold de Mohun then issued a formal charter of foundation, which was in due course confirmed by royal authority.² At the end of December in that year, John Godard was elected Abbot, and twelve monks of Beaulieu and four lay brethren were chosen to accompany him to Devonshire. This little band arrived at the site of the new colony on the feast of the Epiphany, chanting *Salve Regina*, in the presence of the founder, his brother, and a great concourse of people.³

In 1248, the Pope took the new settlement, the monastery of Newenham (*de novo manso*), under his protection and conferred upon it many privileges.

¹ Newenham Chartulary, ff. 18b-24b; Davidson's *History of Newenham Abbey*, pp. 3-7, 225-227; Pole MS. at Queen's College, Oxford, f. 14.

² *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. i. p. 326.

³ Chartulary, as above.

At subsequent dates, Sir Reynold de Mohun granted to the Cistercian monks the church of Luppit in Devonshire and sixty marks towards the purchase of land at Shapwick for the benefit of the soul of his mother Alice. He is also stated to have bequeathed to them by his will a sum of seven hundred marks¹.

There was a great ceremony at Newenham on the 13th of September 1254, when the Abbot and monks went in solemn procession from their temporary chapel to the site of their future church, chanting psalms suitable to the occasion, followed by an antiphon. There Sir Reynold de Mohun laid the corner-stone of the superstructure and two other stones, all marked with the cross, while the clergy sang the *Te Deum* and *Salve Regina*. Stones were also laid by Sir William de Mohun and Sir Wymond de Raleigh. After this, the Abbot, with the deacon and sub-deacon, vested for mass, and the rest of the community knelt before their founder and besought him to adopt the new church as the place for his burial. He replied that this was his intention, and, by a document dated at Dunster in the following year, he directed that, unless he should die in the Holy Land, his corpse should be conveyed to Newenham and there honourably buried before the high altar.²

In connexion with the establishment of Newenham Abbey there is the following extraordinary story :—

“ When Sir Reynold saw this done, he went to the court of Rome, which was then at Lyons, for confirmation and ratification of his new abbey, to his great honour for ever ; and he was at the court on the Sunday in Lent when they sing the office of the Mass *Lætare Jerusalem*, on which day the custom of the court is that the Pope (*l'apoistoille*)

¹ Davidson pp. 2, 10, 21-24 ; Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.* p. 362.

² Davidson pp. 33-35; Rowe's *Cistercian Houses of Devon*, pp. 140, 141.

gives to the most valiant and honourable man who can be found at the said court a rose or little flower of fine gold. They therefore searched the whole court and found this Reynold to be most worthy of the whole court, and to him Pope Innocent gave this rose or little flower of gold, and the Pope (*papa*) asked him what manner of man he was in his own country. He answered 'a plain knight bachelor.' 'Fair son' said the Pope, 'this rose or little flower has never been given save to kings, or to dukes, or to earls; therefore we will that you be Earl of Est,'—that is Somerset. Reynold answered and said 'O holy father, I have not wherewithal to maintain the name.' The Pope therefore gave him two hundred marks a year to be received at the altar of St. Paul's in London out of his (Peter's) Pence of England, to maintain his honour; of which grant he brought back with him bulls which still have the lead, etc. together with ten other bulls of confirmation of his new abbey of Newham. After this day, he bore the rose or little flower in his arms." ¹

Reynold de Mohun the second has accordingly been recognised as Earl of Somerset in numerous peerages and pedigrees, and ingenious heralds have offered observations and explanations. Thus, Milles says that he was created Earl of Somerset "by gift of the Pope, who in King John's time might do what hee list in England," while Camden asserts that he "was deprived of that honour in the Barons' War." ² These writers cannot have realised that Reynold de Mohun did not come of age until some years after the death of King John, and that he died before the outbreak of the Barons' War. The subject in fact requires more careful examination than it has yet received.

Camden, who was evidently acquainted with the narrative given above, and Fuller, who prints it in

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, book iii. § 5.
no. 26.

² Milles's *Catalogue of Honour*, p. 394;
Camden's *Britannia*, Somerset.

the original language, concur in stating that it was to be found in a book or manuscript in French belonging to the family of Mohun. Gerard says more explicitly that it was derived from "an ancient manuscript book still remayninge with Sir Reginald Mohun," and dedicated to Lady Joan Mohun by John Osberne, her clerk.¹ This was unquestionably the volume from which so many erroneous statements about the Mohun family have been quoted in the last four centuries. John Osberne, however, must not be regarded as the author of the story. His own "book or treatise," composed in 1350, was in Latin of a sort, and it appears to have been merely a supplement to a larger work in French dedicated to his mistress by Walter de la Houe, Abbot of Newenham. The opening words of the narrative given above show it to be an extract.

In considering the credibility of the story, it is necessary to observe in the first place that Pope Innocent the Fourth was at Lyons from November 1244 to April 1251, and that the papal *Regesta* now preserved at the Vatican do not contain copies of all bulls issued. The papal practice of giving, or sending, a golden rose as a mark of high approval is also well known. On the other hand, the flower on the Mohun shield was not a rose, but a fleur-de-lys, and it was almost certainly there before the foundation of Newenham Abbey.² If it is difficult to see the connexion between a rose and a fleur-de-lys, it is no less difficult to see the connexion between Est and Somerset. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the whole story was a deliberate fabrication. The far-fetched identification of Est with Somerset,

¹ *Description of Somerset* (S. R. S.), pp. 18, 20.

² See Appendix.

and that of the golden rose with the little flower on the Mohun shield may fairly be regarded as explanatory notes inserted by the Abbot. The Pope may possibly have bestowed the golden rose on Reynold de Mohun, a man of distinction in England and a zealous churchman, and may have created him a Count Palatine, with the words "*Comes esto.*"

The idea that Innocent the Fourth affected to bestow any territorial title upon Reynold de Mohun must be altogether dismissed. The latter never claimed to be Earl of Somerset, and was never so described by his contemporaries. Special attention may be called to a charter issued by him under the name of 'Reynold de Moun, knight, lord of Dunsterre,' in 1255, some years after the departure of Innocent the Fourth from Lyons, and to the official registers of Newenham Abbey, in which, if anywhere, a higher title borne by the founder would certainly have been mentioned.¹

There is indeed one document which, if authentic, would point to a different conclusion, and which, consequently, cannot be passed over in silence. In the early part of the reign of Edward the Third, the Abbot and Convent of Newenham got into litigation about some of their property, and, as a precautionary measure, they, in 1330, obtained royal confirmation of the charter of foundation by Reynold de Mohun and of various gifts by other benefactors.² This, however, did not prove sufficient for their purpose, and, in 1340, they sent up another charter purporting to have been issued by 'Reynold de Moun, Earl of Somerset and lord of Dunsterre.' The clerks of

¹ Rowe's *Cistercian Houses of Devon*, pp. 140, 141; Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.* pp. 362, 363.

² Davidson, pp. 229-231; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1327-1330*, p. 508.

the Chancery duly affixed the great seal of England to a confirmation of it, on receipt of the usual fees, but they seem to have had some suspicion of it, for, in the preamble of the letters patent they described the grantor as 'sometime Earl, and lord of Dunsterre,' omitting the reference to a specific territorial earldom.

The charter thus confirmed is obviously based to some extent upon the authentic charter of foundation, and follows it in alluding to the Abbey as not yet established, but the form of it is different and it defines the franchises of Axminster in a manner characteristic of the fourteenth century rather than the thirteenth. Among other things, it professes to grant exemption from the sheriff's tourn, a matter on which the monks had been challenged as far back as the reign of Edward the First, when they had failed to produce anything more specific than the authentic charter of foundation. Lastly, it should be observed that the names of two of the alleged witnesses are clearly inconsistent with the date ascribed to the charter. Richard le Blond, Bishop of Exeter, appears in it as 'W. Bishop of Exeter,' and the Christian name of the Earl of Oxford is given as 'W' instead of Hugh.¹

When this document had served its purpose, it seems to have been prudently destroyed, and it was not even entered in either of the official chartularies of the Abbey.² The same may be observed with regard to a palpable forgery purporting to be a charter of Henry the Third, of which the monks of

¹ Patent Roll, 14 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 33; *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p. 165; Newenham Chartulary, f. 42.

² The royal confirmation is printed by Davidson (pp. 233-235) and by Oliver (pp. 361, 362), in both cases from a

transcript of 1624 in the British Museum. While Davidson's version agrees fairly with the Patent Roll, Oliver has, without a word of explanation or apology, improved the names of two of the witnesses (pp. 366, 367).

Newenham obtained royal confirmation in 1393.¹

Sir Reynold de Mohun died on the 20th of January 1257-8. One of the Cistercians of Newenham, possibly the Abbot, Walter de la Houe, has left the following account of his last days :—

“ In the year of our Lord 1257, on the 13th Calends of February, Sunday the feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian, Sir Reynold de Mohun, lord of Dunster and founder of Newenham Abbey, went the way of all flesh at Torre in Devonshire, and this was the manner of his end. When the aforesaid Sir Reynold was seized with severe illness at Torre, he sent and summoned a Friar Minor named Henry, a learned man who was at that time ruling a school of theology at Oxford. ”

“ The aforesaid Friar came to him at Torre on the Wednesday before the death of the aforesaid Reynold, and heard his confession, and, as it seemed to him, he confessed his sins truly, contritely, devoutly and fully. After this, at daybreak on the following Friday, the said Friar Henry came to Reynold where he lay, and Sir Reynold said to him :—‘ I have seen a vision this night in a dream. I imagined myself to be in the Abbey Church of the White Monks and, when leaving it, I met a venerable person clad as a pilgrim, and he said :—‘ Reynold, it is left to your choice either to come with me now in safety, and without peril, or to wait here until the week before Easter next, in danger,’ I replied :—‘ My Lord, I will not wait, but will follow thee forthwith,’ and, indeed, I was fain to follow him. He said :—‘ Thou shalt not follow me now as thou desirest, but thou shalt come to me in safety on the third day.’ And he added :—‘ This was the dream that I saw.’ ”

“ The aforesaid friar, after many words of consolation, returned to his bed, lay down there, and slept a while, and it seemed to him in his dream that he was in the aforesaid church of the Cistercian order, and he beheld a venerable man, clad in a stately white robe, leading a boy fairer than

¹ Patent Roll, 17 Ric. II. part I. m. 18. Dr. Oliver prints the confirmation without a suspicion of the character of the charter inspected.

the sun and in a garment brighter than the clearest crystal, from the font to the altar, like a child newly baptized. To him he said :—‘ Good Lord, whose is this child ? ’ And the man answered :—‘ This is the soul of the venerable ‘ Sir Reynold de Mohun. ’ And when he woke, the aforesaid friar understood that his dream was a token in corroboration of the dream of Sir Reynold and had the like meaning. ”

“ The third day having now arrived, Sir Reynold said to the aforesaid friar Henry :—‘ Repeat to me Prime and Tierce, for my hour is very near at hand. ’ Now it was his wont to hear the whole divine service daily, and the friar consented. The said Sir Reynold said :—‘ For God’s sake, ‘ speak quickly, for my hour is at hand. ’ This done, the aforesaid friar went to the church to celebrate mass. The introit of the mass was *Circumdederunt me*, etc. as for one deceased, and all things were in like form. Mass being ended, the aforesaid friar returned in his sacred vestments carrying the Body of the Lord, in order to strengthen the said Sir Reynold by the receiving of the Body and Blood of the Lord. On his entering the chamber, the aforesaid Reynold wished to rise from his bed, but he could not, by reason of his exceeding weakness. About ten persons were standing around, and to them he said :—‘ Alas ! Why do ‘ ye not suffer me to rise to meet my Saviour and Redeemer ? ’ These were his last words. Henry then gave him the Communion and afterwards anointed him. Then the aforesaid friar, with the other priests and clerks there present, began the Commendation. After this, as Sir Reynold was still alive, they began to say the Commendation again, and when they had recited the words :—‘ All ye saints, pray for him, ’ he fell asleep in the Lord, without a groan or any apparent pain, with his body laid out and straightened, and his mouth and eyes closed, without help of anyone such as is wont to be given to men after they have breathed their last. ”

The corpse was in due course removed from Torre to Newenham Abbey and there buried beside the high altar. The writer of the foregoing narrative, who does not profess to be a contemporary, adds :—

"When the pavement of the presbytery was laid, his body was found in his sarcophagus, whole and in no wise injured, and it remains to this day incorrupt, exhaling a most fragrant odour. This very body I have seen and touched, and for three days it lay open to public view in the year of our Lord 1333."¹

Sir Reynold de Mohun married two wives, the first of whom was unquestionably named Hawis. Several of his benefactions already noticed were made for the benefit of her soul. As far back as the year 1350, John Osberne, the untrustworthy chronicler of the Mohun family, described her as a sister of William Mandeville, Earl of Essex.² Dugdale, perceiving perhaps that this nobleman was contemporary with Sir Reynold's father, makes her a sister of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex, although he professes to get his information from the very book which calls Humphrey her cousin.³ Others have chosen to describe her a daughter of John Fitz Geoffrey.⁴ On the other hand, two quarterly shields of the later Mohuns give the arms of Fleming immediately after those of Briwere, thus suggesting that a Mohun married a Fleming heiress in the thirteenth century.⁵ Such evidence is not of much intrinsic value, but it acquires force when found to be consistent with definite facts. Sir William Pole has preserved copies of two deeds by which William son of William Fleming conveyed to Reynold de Mohun the manors of Ottery and Stoke, and a third deed by which Geoffrey de Mandeville, the overlord, ap-

¹ Newenham Chartulary, ff. 26 b, 27. There are independent translations in Davidson's *Newenham Abbey* (pp. 211-214) and Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon* (vol. i. pp. 206-208).

² St. George's extracts from the

Mohun Chronicle.

³ *Baronage of England*, vol. i. p. 497.

⁴ Harl. MS. 807, f. 73; *The Visitation of Cornwall*, 1620.

⁵ *The Visitation of Devon*, 1620; Monument in Lanteglos Church.

proved William Fleming's grants to Reynold de Mohun of the manors of Stoke, Ottery, Olditch and Pinford.¹ Although the original conveyances are not extant, it further appears that the manors of Luppit and Farway, also in Devonshire, passed from the Flemings to the Mohuns.² In support of his own story, John Osborne states that William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, granted the manors of Streatley, in Berkshire, to Reynold de Mohun, to be held by him by service of a quarter of a fee.³ If Reynold married before the Earl's death in 1227, this is likely enough. He certainly had a house at Streatley in 1233, and there is no reason to suppose that he bought this property in a distant county.⁴ The nature of the transaction becomes clearer when we find that the Earls of Essex were merely the overlords of Streatley, and that William Fleming held three quarters of a fee there in the middle of the thirteenth century.⁵ Lastly, attention may be drawn to the fact that, in 1283, one of the buildings at Dunster Castle was known as the 'Fleming Tower,' doubtless that which was afterwards called 'Dame Hawis's Tower.'⁶ In defiance therefore of the older genealogists, we may fairly hold that Sir Reynold de Mohun married firstly Hawis daughter and heiress of William Fleming. By her he had at least four children:—

John, who predeceased him. Little is known about him except that he died in Gascony between 1252 and 1254. His body was brought back to England and buried at Bruton Priory, while his heart was

¹ MS. at Queen's College, Oxford, ff. 13, 18^d, 21.

² *Testa de Nevill*, p. 178; *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. p. 330.

³ St. George's extracts from the

Mohun Chronicle.

⁴ *Close Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 226.

⁵ *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. p. 65; *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 111, 125.

⁶ See Chapter xi.

buried at Newenham Abbey before the high altar.¹ In 1254, Reynold de Mohun entered into an elaborate agreement with the Prior and Convent of Bath as to certain masses that were to be said for the benefit of the soul of his eldest son John, then deceased, of his own soul and of the souls of his wives, his ancestors and his successors. The monks thereby undertook that mass should be celebrated daily to the end of time by one of their own number attached to the Priory of Dunster, or by a respectable secular chaplain, "in the upper chapel" of Dunster Castle dedicated to St. Stephen, unless prevented by war, by ecclesiastical interdict, or by order of the castellan, in any of which events it was to be celebrated in the chapel of St. Lawrence belonging to the Priory below (*inferius*). To ensure due performance of this, they gave Reynold de Mohun right of distraint upon their land at Alcombe. He on his side granted to them fifty marks for the purchase of rents and undertook that the necessary books, vestments, lights and ornaments should be provided by himself and his heirs, owners of the Castle. Although the Prior's deed is dated at Ottery, in Devonshire, the witnesses came from the neighbourhood of Dunster.²

John de Mohun had married Joan daughter of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, a younger sister of his stepmother, and by her he left issue:—

John, his heir.

Robert.³

¹ Oliver's *Monasticum Diocesis Exon.* pp. 362. 363.

² D.C.M. xvi. 1. A copy on paper, endorsed "For the Castell Masse."

³ Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*,

vol. i. pp. 202, 211; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 189. An elder brother Reynold is also mentioned, perhaps in error. Curia Regis Roll, no. 160, m. 34^d.

John de Mohun seems to have been a tenant in chief in right of his wife. After his death, the King granted her marriage to Peter de Chauvent. The widow, however, chose to marry Robert Aguylon and he had to pay a forfeit of 200 marks to the grantee.¹

Alice, married, while a mere child, to William de Clinton, the younger, who settled on her land to the considerable value of 40*l.* a year.² She afterwards married Robert de Beauchamp the younger of Hatch, in Somerset. To them her father, Sir Reynold, conveyed an estate known as 'the Soke of Mohun,' with appurtenances, liberties and advowsons in the City of London and without, between Fleet Bridge and Charing Cross.³ This they, ere long, alienated to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster.⁴

Juliana, married to William de Lisle. To them her father gave an estate at Walton in Northamptonshire which was part of the Briwere inheritance.⁵

Lucy, married to John de Grey of Codnor.⁶

Sir Reynold de Mohun's second wife was Isabel relict of Sir Gilbert Basset, and daughter of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. With her he received in frank marriage ten hides of land at Mildenhall, in Wiltshire, and afterwards a share of the great inheritance of her maternal uncles the Marshals, successive Earls of Pembroke. She died in 1260.⁷ By her he had issue :—

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1247-1258*, p. 495; *Curia Regis Rolls*, no. 181, m. 11; no. 160, m. 34^d.

² *Close Rolls, 1234-1237*, p. 505.

³ *Beauchamp Chartulary*, f. 101.

⁴ *Feet of Fines, Divers Counties*, 36 Hen. III.

⁵ *Ibid.* 40 Hen. III.

⁶ St. George's extracts from the Mohun Chronicle.

⁷ *Testa de Nevill*, p. 153; *Close Rolls*, 36 Hen. III. mm. 22, 17, 1^d; 37 Hen. III. mm. 19, 11; 39 Hen. III. m. 24^d; *Patent Roll*, 37 Hen. III. m. 18; *Inq. post mortem*, C. Hen. III. file 25 (13).

Sir William, who was born in 1254. He was consequently a mere boy at the time of his mother's death.¹ In 1262, the King sold his wardship and marriage to William la Zouche for 200 marks.² Through his mother, he inherited the manors of Mildenhall, in Wiltshire, and Greywell, in Hampshire, lands at Sturminster Marshal, in Dorset, and Magor near Monmouth, and a larger estate in Kildare and Kilkenny. He also obtained from his half-nephew, John de Mohun of Dunster, the manors of Galmlton, Stoke Fleming and Ottery called afterwards Ottery Mohun, and other property in Devonshire, all, however, subject to the overlordship of the head of the family.³ In 1277, he was summoned to perform military service in person against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales.⁴ Three years later, he went on pilgrimage to Santiago in Spain.⁵ He ought to have attended a muster at Rhuddlan at the beginning of August 1282, but he died on the 17th of that month at his home at Ottery.⁶ He was buried near his father in the choir of Newenham Abbey.⁷ By Beatrice, his wife, Sir William de Mohun had issue four children :—

Reynold, who died under age in 1284.

Eleanor, who was born at Stoke Fleming, in August 1281, and married John de Carew.⁸

¹ Inquisition, as above; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, pp. 287, 296.

² *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. ii. p. 365.

³ *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. pp. 317, 319, 329, 331. Sir William de Mohun's possession of lands formerly belonging to his stepmother's family was a cause of error to me in 1880, and afterwards to Mr. Hunt (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxviii, p. 111). The condition of his tenure, which I had

overlooked, removes all difficulty.

⁴ Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 194.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1281* pp. 361, 364.

⁶ Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 30 (8); file 39 (6); Money's *History of Newbury*, p. 122.

⁷ Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.* p. 363.

⁸ Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 25, nos. 43, 123.

Margaret, who died under age.

Mary, who was born posthumously at Mildenhall, in December 1282, and married Sir John of Meriet before she was fourteen years of age.¹

The wardship of the heir, and afterwards of the co-heirs, was given to Eleanor, the King's mother.² In 1288, Beatrice de Mohun paid 100*l.* for royal licence to marry a second husband. She was a desirable widow, as she had a considerable dower.³

James, a clerk. While a student at Oxford in 1267, he received a royal grant of two oaks from Shotover for his fuel.⁴ In due course he proceeded to the degree of Master. He was only in subdeacon's orders when instituted to the rectory of Walkhampton in Devonshire, in 1276.⁵ The parsonage of Brompton which he afterwards obtained cannot be located with any certainty.⁶ He had a small estate of his own at Horswell and South Milton, in Devonshire.⁷ He was living in December 1322.⁸ By a will proved early in the following year, he bequeathed a messuage near Newgate to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in order that they should provide two chaplains to say mass daily for his soul, one in their own church and the other in the church of St. Sepulchre.⁹

Isabel, who is said to have married Edmund Deyncourt.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.* 29 Edw. I. no. 6; C. Edw. III. file 2 (8); *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1296-1302, pp. 134, 148.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1281-1292, pp. 52, 128, 468.

³ *Ibid.* p. 298; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1270-1288, p. 198.

⁴ Close Roll, 52 Hen. III. m. 12.

⁵ Bronscombe's Register, f. 76.

⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1292-1301,

pp. 118, 213.

⁷ *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. pp. 324, 351, 396.

⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1321-1324, p. 230; Feet of Fines, Divers Counties, 11 Edw. II.

⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1321-1324, p. 283.

¹⁰ St. George's extracts from the Mohun Chronicle.

JOHN DE MOHUN, son of John, son of Reynold, was a minor at the time of his grandfather's death, and as soon as the news of it reached Windsor, the King granted his wardship and marriage and the charge of his estates to Queen Eleanor.¹ On the 1st of August 1265, Sir William of Berkeley landed at Minehead with a number of Welshmen, intending to ravage the county of Somerset. Adam Gurdon, who was then warden of Dunster Castle, at once sallied out to meet them and put them to flight. Those who escaped the sword were drowned.² Gurdon is known to have been an adherent of the insurgent barons, and to have collected a number of their partisans at Dunster.³ He was, however, ejected soon after the battle of Evesham, and Alan Plugenet was placed in command of the fortress in his stead.⁴ The wardship of the Mohun lands was afterwards transferred from the Queen to Richard, King of Almain.

On attaining his majority, John de Mohun did homage to Henry the Third, and he obtained livery of his inheritance in October 1269.⁵ He was summoned in 1277 to do military service against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and he went accompanied by his brother Robert de Mohun and Thomas du Pyn.⁶ He was little more than thirty years of age at the time of his death in 1279. The inquisitions then taken give valuable information about the knights' fees belonging to the Honour of Dunster, and show that he held in his own hands the manors of Dunster,

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1247-1258*, pp. 614, 616; *Close Rolls* 42 Hen. III. m. 10; 49 Hen. III. m. 6; *Assize Roll* no. 1203. m. 4.

² *Willelmi Rishanger Chronica* (R.S.), p. 41.

³ *Miscellaneous Inquisitions*.

⁴ *Patent Roll*, 49 Hen. III. m. 10.

⁵ *Close Roll*, 53 Hen. III. m. 1.

⁶ *Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. pp. 195, 202, 210, 211; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 189.

Carhampton, Cutcombe, Minehead, Kilton and Ile Brewer in Somerset, Whichford in Warwickshire, Bradworthy, Torre Mohun, Cadleigh and Ugborough in Devonshire, and Luton in Bedfordshire.¹ They do not make any mention of the manor of Streatley, which had been let to Maud, Countess of Hereford, for her life.²

By Eleanor Fitzpiers, his wife, Sir John de Mohun left an only son, John. The widow Eleanor married Sir William Martin.³

JOHN DE MOHUN THE THIRD was of course a minor at the time of his father's death. The right of tendering a suitable lady to him in marriage at the proper time was granted by the Crown to Robert Tibetot in July 1279.⁴ His lands meanwhile proved useful for the satisfaction of different annuities that had been promised by the King. The manor and castle of Dunster were thus committed, in May 1280, to Francesco d'Accorso, the learned civilian whom Edward the First had brought from Bologna to assist him in the administration of public affairs.⁵ The manors of Whichford and Ile Brewer were similarly committed to Amaury de St. Amand.⁶ In June 1281, John de Vescy, a first cousin of the late John de Mohun, obtained a definite grant of Dunster Castle and other lands until the heir should come of age.⁷ The Abbot of Cleeve and the Prior of Dunster were made responsible to him for the arms and armour, necessary for the defence of the Castle, that had

¹ Inq. post mortem, C.Edw.1. file 22(1); file 43 (6).

² Feet of Fines, Berks, 1 Edw. I.

³ Inquisitions, as above; *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. pp. 318, 349, 352, 380; vol. iv. pp. 302, 334; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1270*, pp. 539, 540; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. ii. p. 264.

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1272-1281*, p. 318.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 374; Maxwell Lyte's *History of the University of Oxford*, pp. 88, 89.

⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 444.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1281-1292, p. 8; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1279-1288*, p. 149.

been temporarily placed in their respective houses.¹ The young heir himself continued in the wardship of the King under the charge of a tutor named John Launcelewe, and the accounts of the royal wardrobe record payments for his saddles, bridles, leggings and spurs.² He obtained livery of his lands in 1290, from which it may be inferred that he was born in 1269.³

In the course of a fairly long life, John de Mohun did something towards consolidating his scattered estates. Thus, in 1299, he made over to the King all his share of the Marshal inheritance in Kildare, in exchange for the manor of Long Compton, in Warwickshire, adjoining his own manor of Whichford.⁴ There is also reason to believe that he exchanged the manor of Ile Brewer in Somerset, some twenty-four miles from Dunster, for that of Goring, in Oxfordshire, separated only by the Thames from his own manor of Streatley.⁵

It would be tedious to enumerate the different expeditions in which Sir John de Mohun did military service against the French in Gascony and Flanders, against the Welsh, and, more frequently, against the Scots, but it may be noted that on one occasion he is described as a banneret. In February 1299, he received his first writ of summons to Parliament.⁶ According to modern ideas, he thus became a hereditary peer, and he is therefore called Lord Mohun in numerous books and pedigrees. No such titles

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 24.

² *Miscellanea, Chancery*, bundle 4.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 356.

⁴ *Originalia Roll*, 8 Edw. I. m. 14; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 324; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. ii. p. 480; *Calendar of the Justiciary*

Rolls of Ireland, 1295-1303, pp. 369-371.

⁵ *Feudal Aids*, vol. iv. pp. 154, 170, 176, 291, 314.

⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, pp. 7, 22, 98, 346; *Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 740; vol. ii. pp. 1176-1178; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301-1307*, p. 231.

were, however, known in his day. In the famous letter of the English barons to the Pope, he is simply styled 'John de Mohun, lord of Dunsterre.' By virtue of his tenure he was indeed, like his ancestors, one of the Greater Barons of the realm, but a writ of summons did not at that period confer any title upon the recipient. He was never styled 'Lord de Mohun' in his lifetime, and Sir Hugh Luttrell, who sat in the House of Commons in the reign of Henry the Fourth, was just as truly 'lord of Dunster' as any of the Mohuns, and was often so styled.

When Edward the Second was about to be crowned, thirty-two ecclesiastics, and a hundred and eight of the principal nobles and officers of state were summoned to attend the ceremony, and John de Mohun was of course included in the number. He, or his namesake, John Mohun of Ham, was implicated in the proceedings of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, but he seems to have adhered to the King when the Earl rose in open rebellion some years later. Writs of summons to successive Parliaments and Councils continued to be issued to him until July 1330¹. Attendance in Parliament was then more of a burden than of an honour, and the recipients of such writs were sometimes allowed to send proxies.² Thus it was that, in 1329, when John de Mohun was aged and infirm, he obtained specific licence to send his son Robert—who was not his heir—to do military service in his stead and to occupy his seat in Parliament.³

John de Mohun the third was married twice. His first wife was Ada Tibetot, presumably a daughter

¹ Palgrave, as above.

² Palgrave, vol. ii. p. 267; *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. iii. p. 166;

vol. iv. pp. 408, 462.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1327-1330*, p. 383.

of Robert Tibetot to whom his marriage had been granted. By her he had issue seven or eight sons and one daughter¹:—

Sir John de Mohun the fourth. He married in May 1305, Christian, daughter of Sir John Segrave, who had a fortune of 400*l.* In consideration of this sum, his father undertook to maintain them and to give her a dower of 100 marks a year in the event of his surviving her husband, who would otherwise succeed to property valued at 600*l.* a year.² It is clear that the young couple were under age at the time. Little is known about John de Mohun the fourth except that he fought at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, and died in Scotland during the lifetime of his father.³ A statement that he was buried in the church of the Grey Friars at York rests upon very questionable authority.⁴

He left issue :—

John de Mohun the fifth.

Margaret, who married John de Carew.

Elizabeth, who died without issue.⁵

Sir Robert, already mentioned. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Simon de Roges of Porlock. The marriage does not seem to have turned out happily, for, after his murder about the end of 1331, his relict and her mother were alike suspected of being privy to the crime. Very little is known about the circumstances beyond the fact that a neighbour, John of Luccombe, was the

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 89.

² Patent Roll, 33 Edw. I. part 1. m. 9.

³ Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*,

vol. ii. part 2, p. 198.

⁴ *The Visitation of Devon*, 1620.

⁵ *Archæological Journal*, as above.

chief person implicated. The widow soon married another husband, Sir Robert of Stockhey.¹ The date of her death is not recorded, but she must have been succeeded by a son, for, in 1353, there is mention of John de Mohun of Porlock, knight, who is elsewhere described as son of Sir Robert de Mohun.² The Mohuns of Fleet, in Dorset, claimed descent from him.³

Baldwin, a clerk. He received the first tonsure from the Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1315, but he did not obtain any preferment in the west of England, and there are some grounds for supposing that he married a lady of the Clavinger family.⁴ In 1342, he served on several judicial commissions in Warwickshire, apparently in the capacity of a local magnate.⁵ In that very year, however, he again turned his thoughts to the church, and powerful patrons, the Earl of Lancaster and Queen Isabella, recommended him to the Pope for a canonry⁶. Although described in 1342 as holding the church of Whichford, which was in the gift of his nephew, Sir John de Mohun, he was not actually instituted thereto until 1344. A parson appointed in the previous year may have been put in for a time, while he was qualifying by proceeding to priest's orders.⁷ At some later date, he held the living of Fordingbridge.⁸ In 1348, he was presented by the King to the prebend of Warminster in the

¹ Chadwyck Healey's *History of part of West Somerset*, pp. 248-252.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1349-1354*, p. 619; Gascon Roll, 24 Edw. III. m. 2.: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1345-1348*, p. 133. Mr. Chadwyck Healey did not know of the entry on the Close Roll.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ *Droknensford's Register* (S.R.S.) pp. 69,

100; Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, (ed. 1765) p. 418.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1340-1343*, pp. 448, 559, 590.

⁶ *Calendar of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i, pp. 7, 26.

⁷ Dugdale, as above.

⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1350-1354*, p. 43.

cathedral church of Salisbury, but he died in the course of the next two years.¹

Payn, first mentioned in 1323, when he received episcopal licence to choose his own confessor.² In the following year, he again had recourse to the bishop in order to compel his father to deliver 50 marks and a cope adorned with gold and relics which his mother Ada had bequeathed to him and three of her other younger children.³ After the murder of his brother, Sir Robert, already mentioned, Payn de Mohun was very active in trying to bring the guilty persons to justice.⁴ From his father he received the manor of Cutcombe, but the gift was limited to the term of his life.⁵ In 1344 and 1345, he went abroad with various knights and others in the retinue of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby.⁶

Sir Reynold, ancestor of the Mohuns of Cornwall.⁷

Patrick, who received from his father the manor of Bradworthy, in Devon, but only for the term of his life.⁸ He seems to have acted as receiver for the relict of his nephew, the last Lady de Mohun of Dunster, and she allowed him to live at Marshwood. An arrangement to this effect was ratified, in 1398, by her daughter, Lady Fitzwalter, who claimed the reversion, which she never obtained.⁹

Hervey, who seems to have made himself useful to several persons of importance. Lady Blanche Wake obtained for him an annuity of 10 marks from the

¹ *Ibid.* 1348-1350, pp. 111, 201; *Calendar of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 205.

² *Droghda's Register* (S.R.S.) p. 216.

³ *Ibid.* p. 231.

⁴ Chadwyck Healey, as above.

⁵ Feet of Fines, divers counties, 22 Edw. III (no. 422); *Calendar of Patent*

Rolls, 1348-1350, p. 58; Lay Subsidies. 169/5.

⁶ Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. iii. pp. 11, 40.

⁷ See Appendix.

⁸ Feet of Fines, as above.

⁹ D.C.M. ix. 3; xvii. 1; xxxi. 2; Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. IV. no. 33.

Crown.¹ Henry, Earl of Lancaster, her brother, gave him an annuity of 10*l.* and Sir John de Mohun, his own nephew, appointed him bailiff of the Hundred of Carhampton.² He died in 1349, the year of the Black Death.³

Laurence, who is stated to have been the ancestor of the Mohuns of Tavistock. Nothing, however, is really known about him.⁴

Eleanor, who married Sir Ralph of Wellington, apparently in 1324.⁵

Ada, the first wife of John de Mohun the third, died in or before 1324. His second wife was Sibyl relict of Sir Henry de Lorty.⁶ In February 1325, a priest named Robert of Plympton was appointed confessor to Sir John de Mohun and Sibyl his wife.⁷ In June 1330, Sir John entered into a recognisance to Bartholomew of Burghersh in the then colossal sum of 10,000*l.* the intention of which is not stated, although probably connected with a matrimonial project.⁸ He died a few weeks later, on the 25th of August.⁹ He had been more interested in the Benedictines of Dunster than in the Augustinians of Bruton or the Cistercians of Newenham, and he was buried in their church, probably on the north side of the chancel.¹⁰ The effigy of a widow in a richly ornamented recess on the south side of the chancel

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1346-1349*, pp. 27, 105, 203, 459, 562, 610.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1348-1350*, p. 370.

³ *Ibid.* p. 412.

⁴ As the Newenham Register states that John de Mohun the third had seven sons and then proceeds to enumerate eight, the 'et' before the name of Laurence should perhaps be a 'vel.'

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1323-1327*, p. 192; *1330-1333*, p. 144; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1348-1350*, p. 200.

⁶ *Proceedings of Somerset Archaeological Society*, vol. xlii. p. 46; *Bishop Ralph's Register* (S.R.S.), pp. 49, 161, 189, 255.

⁷ *Drokensford's Register* (S.R.S.), p. 240.

⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1330-1333*, p. 143.

⁹ *Cartularies of Muchelney and Athelney* (S.R.S.), p. 27; Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. III. file 22.

¹⁰ *Two Cartularies of Bath* (S.R.S.), L. p. 182.

dates from his time, and may fairly be taken to represent his mother, Christian.

It is repeatedly laid down in books on law "that the widow of a baron shall not have dower out of the *caput baronie* of her late husband." ¹ Nevertheless the dower assigned by the Crown to Sibyl, Lady de Mohun, in 1330, comprised the castle and the manor of Dunster, the former of which was the *caput* of an ancient barony. To these was afterwards added a third of the knights' fees pertaining thereto. ² She had, however, considerable difficulty in establishing her rights. ³ In 1335, it was reported to the King at Alnwick that she was dead, and no time was lost in disposing of the lands which she held in dower, but the report proved false, and she was certainly living in 1337. ⁴ There is nothing more to be said about her except that she kept a domestic chaplain, presumably at Dunster. ⁵

JOHN DE MOHUN THE FIFTH, was about ten years old at the death of his grandfather in 1330. ⁶ No lord of Dunster had left an heir of full age since the reign of Henry the Second, and the Crown had got the benefit of six wardships there in the course of a hundred and fifty-four years. Henry of Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of England, a worldly and avaricious prelate, obtained the marriage of the young heir of Dunster and the custody of his lands during minority, within six days of the death of John de Mohun the third. ⁷

¹ Madox's *Baronia Anglica*, pp. 10, 42; Cruise's *Dignities or Titles of Honour* etc.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1330-1333*, pp. 96, 481.

³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. ii. p. 71; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1334-1338*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 178, 505.

⁵ *Bishop Ralph's Register* (S.R.S.), pp. 172, 308.

⁶ Inq. post mortem, C.Edw. III. file 22.

⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1327-1330*, p. 551; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1330-1333*, p. 96.

After a few weeks, however, he fell into disgrace at Court, and, in January 1331, the custody of two thirds of the Mohun inheritance was transferred to William of Ayreminne, Bishop of Norwich, who is described as "crafty, covetous and treasonable."¹ Four years later, we find this prelate claiming compensation from the Crown for the dower assigned to Lady de Mohun, the widow, at Minehead.² In 1334, he is mentioned as holding some of the lands, the remainder and the person of the young heir being in the hands of Sir Bartholomew of Burghersh, a half-brother of the Bishop of Lincoln.³ It was at the special request of Sir Bartholomew that John de Mohun obtained livery of his lands in England in 1341, without proving that he was of full age.⁴ By this date, he had doubtless done what was required of him by marrying the daughter of his guardian, Joan of Burghersh, a lady who plays a very important part in the history of Dunster.

Sir John de Mohun the fifth did military service against the Scots in 1341.⁵ In the following year and again in 1345, he went abroad with his father-in-law, who was a distinguished commander in the wars of Edward the Third.⁶ At the battle of Crecy, he was in the division of Edward, Prince of Wales, which comprised "all the flower of the chivalry of England."⁷ He also took part in at least five subsequent campaigns, accompanying the Prince of Wales in 1359 and the Duke of Lancaster in 1373.⁸

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1334-1338 p. 122; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1330-1333, p. 436.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1334-1338, p. 127.

³ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1333-1337, pp. 193, 218.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1341-1343, p. 166.

⁵ *Scotch Roll*, 15 Edw. III. m. 2.

⁶ *French Rolls*, 16 Edw. III. m. 26; 19 Edw. III. m. 7.

⁷ *Wrottesley's Crecy and Calais*, pp. 6, 29, 31, 79, 82, 86, 99, 111, 120, 275.

⁸ *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 498; *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 443.

One of his horses named 'Grisel Gris' was a present to him from the former of these great warriors.¹ As a baron, Sir John de Mohun was summoned to a council in 1342, and he received writs to attend different parliaments between 1348 and 1374.² If he had lived in the following century, he would have been formally described as 'Lord de Mohun', and he was sometimes so styled in his own lifetime.³ On the establishment of the Order of the Garter in the year 1348, he was nominated one of the original twenty-five knights.⁴

Sir John de Mohun seems to have shone more in war than in peace. In 1344, he was indicted with his uncles, Payn and Patrick de Mohun, and many others for various felonies in the county of Somerset.⁵ Six years later, he got into serious trouble by attempting to interfere with the administration of justice. John Durborough, one of the military tenants of the Honour of Dunster, brought a suit against him to recover some land, and when the King's judges were sitting at Somerton to hear this and other cases, Sir John attacked his adversary in the middle of the town, pursued him as far as the churchyard and, overtaking him there, carried him off on horseback to Langport. Such violence could not be tolerated even in a great baron, and, by order of the judges, the sheriff raised the hue and cry against him and rescued his captive. Sir John himself was committed to prison. The assize roll does not contain any record of the proceedings, but the story is told in the letters patent by which he obtained the royal pardon,

¹ Beltz's *Order of the Garter*, p. 383.

² *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. iv. pp. 539-661.

³ D.C.M. ix. 2.

⁴ Anstis's *Register of the Order of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 49; vol. ii. p. 6.

⁵ Assize Roll, no. 771; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1343-1346*, p. 361.

on the intercession of some of his peers. He did not get off without making an ample apology, expressing his willingness to incur forfeiture of life and limbs as well as of lands and goods, without hope of mercy, if he should commit any similar offence in the future. ¹

Associating with the greatest persons in the realm, Sir John de Mohun seems from the very beginning to have lived beyond his means. A brief will executed by him as early as September 1342, suggests that he was already in difficulties. After leaving his body to the regular canons of Bruton, he thereby bequeathed all his moveable goods to his wife and Sir Ivo de Glynton, a priest, in order that they should pay his creditors in the city of London and afterwards his other creditors, and do whatever they thought fit for the benefit of his soul. ² Later on, we find him borrowing money from Sir James Audley and others. ³

In order to understand the history of Dunster and the manors that went with it in the fourteenth century, it becomes necessary to trace in some detail the manner in which Sir John de Mohun the fifth dealt with his ample inheritance. There is no record of any settlement made at the time of his marriage, and when he obtained livery of his lands, there were not apparently any charges upon them except the life interests of some of his uncles. Within the first few years, however, he sold Cadleigh. ⁴

On the 23rd of June 1346, royal licence was granted for Sir John de Mohun to enfeoff William of Fordham, clerk, and Maud of Bourton of the castle and manor of Dunster with all knights' fees

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1348-1350, p. 500.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 4.

³ Pole MS. at Queen's College Oxford, ff. 178, 179^a; *Close Rolls*, *passim*.

⁴ *Feudal Aids*, vol. i. p. 424.

and advowsons pertaining thereto, and the manors of Carhampton, Minehead and Kilton, and for them to re-convey to him and Joan his wife and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to his heirs general.¹ By a deed purporting to be executed on the very same day at Titchfield and witnessed by Sir John Durborough, Sir Ralph Fitzurse, Sir Alexander Luttrell, John Osberne, constable of Dunster, John of Bratton and others, he formally conveyed the premises as above, and he also appointed attorneys to deliver seisin. A conjecture may be hazarded that William of Fordham was the domestic chaplain at the Castle, and that Maud of Bourton was a personal attendant of Lady de Mohun. However this may be, they were mere instruments. On the 12th of July, they duly executed a re-conveyance in the terms of the royal licence, witnessed at Dunster by Sir John Durborough, Sir Simon Furneaux, Sir Ralph Fitzurse, John Osberne the constable, John of Bratton, John le Bret and John Wosham. By this time Sir John de Mohun was probably abroad, and there is no record of livery of seisin to him.² It is more material to observe that the transaction was carried further by a fine levied in Michaelmas term, by which the premises were settled on Sir John de Mohun and Joan his wife and the heirs male of their bodies, with remainder to his heirs general.³ Whether the limitation to heirs male was intended all along, or introduced as an after-thought, it is impossible to say, but it had very important consequences. It does not occur in an otherwise similar settlement of the manor of Goring made about the same time.⁴

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1345-1348*, p. 126.

² D.C.M. I. 13.

³ Feet of Fines, Somerset, 20 Edw. III. (Green, ii. 234.)

⁴ Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. IV. no. 33.

In March 1348, royal licence was obtained for Sir John de Mohun to convey the reversion of the manors of Cutcombe, Greywell and Sturminster Marshal and certain lands at Carhampton and Kilton to William Hothorp and Richard Cok, and for them to re-convey to him and Joan his wife and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to his heirs general.¹ A fine was accordingly levied of the premises, as also of the reversion of the manors of Ugborough, Bradworthy, Torre Mohun and Streatley, for which no licence was needed, as they were not held in chief.²

The first effect of the three fines mentioned above was to give Lady de Mohun a life interest in almost all the manors belonging to her husband in England. Nevertheless he eventually managed to sell that of Ugborough to Sir Neal Loring, who also bought his property at Luton, in Bedfordshire.³

The next transaction appears to have been of the nature of a mortgage. In 1350, Sir John de Mohun and Joan his wife demised the castle of Dunster, with its fees and advowsons, and Carhampton, Rodhuish and Marshwood, to Sir Batholomew of Burghersh the elder, Sir Bartholomew of Burghersh the younger—her father and brother—Sir Peter de Veel, Sir Roger la Ward, and Matthew of Clevedon, esquire, at the nominal rent of a red rose for four years, and the excessive rent of 400*l* afterwards.⁴ They recovered possession at the end of August 1355, and on the 3rd of September, Sir John handed over to his wife forty-three title deeds relating to the manors of Dunster, Minehead, Torre Mohun, Bradworthy and Ugborough.⁵

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1348-1350*, p. 58.

² *Fees of Fines, Divers Counties*, 22 Edw. III.

³ *Inq. post mortem*, 6 Hen. IV. no 33;

Inquisitions ad quod damnum, file 386, no. 3.

⁴ D.C.M. I. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* and I. 6.

By this date at any rate, Lady de Mohun was aiming at something more than a life interest in her husband's estates. She seems indeed to have obtained complete ascendancy over him, either by the power of the purse or by superior force of character. It was for her, and not for him, that Walter de la Houe, Abbot of Newenham, compiled a professedly historical work which describes the first William de Mohun as the noblest man in the whole army of William the Conqueror, and recounts how Reynold de Mohun was created Earl of Somerset by Pope Innocent.¹ In the Latin supplement to it, written, in 1350, by John Osborne, constable of Dunster, he describes himself as "the clerk and servant" of this "most excellent and most beneficent" lady, "the daughter of the most illustrious, active and noble knight, Sir Bartholomew of Burghersh, the elder," while her husband is practically ignored.²

In 1369, Sir John and Lady de Mohun, having no expectation of male issue, and relying on the fine of 1346, in preference to the deed of conveyance from William of Fordham and Maud of Bourton of the same year, resolved to make a fresh settlement of the nucleus of his hereditary property. Realising perhaps that the validity of their proceedings might some day be called in question, they took care, this time, to select trustees of high social rank, Simon of Sudbury, Bishop of London, Sir Aubrey de Vere, knight, and Sir John of Burghersh, knight. By letters patent issued on the 6th of July, the King empowered Sir John and Lady de Mohun to convey the manor and the hundred of Carhampton to these three persons, who were at the same time empowered

¹ See pp. 2, 3, 22-25, above.

Mohun Chronicle; *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. iv. p. 251.

² St. George's extracts from the

to dispose of them by alienation, gift, or demise, in fee simple or otherwise, according to the pleasure and order of the lady, conveyance in mortmain being alone forbidden.¹ The first difficulty having been thus overcome, it was comparatively simple to obtain similar letters patent on the 24th and 26th of the same month with regard to the castle of Dunster and the manors of Minehead and Kilton. In the second transaction, Richard, Earl of Arundel was associated with the three trustees named above, but he eventually retired.² The trustees seem to have entered, for, in 1371, two of them appointed attorneys to deliver to Patrick Everard and Joan his wife seisin of some land in the manor of Minehead, and, in 1373, the Bishop granted to the same Patrick two acres in the Hanger at Dunster between the ditch of the vineyard and Brooklane.³

In 1374, Lady de Mohun arranged to sell the reversion of the castle and manor of Dunster, the manors of Minehead and Kilton, and the hundred of Carhampton to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, a widow of noble birth. The purchaser paid a deposit of 200*l.* to Lady de Mohun, Aubrey de Vere and Michael atte Mede, upon condition that it should be refunded to her in case the arrangement were not carried through. It was distinctly recognised that the bargain might fail "as in levying of the fine or of the grant and lease of the castle, manors and hundred aforesaid with all their appurtenances cutting off the remainder."⁴ Sir John de Mohun's daughters may have raised objections, and the Earl of Arundel's withdrawal from the trust about this time is significant. By the

¹ D.C.M. i. 4; Patent Roll, 6 Hen. IV. part 2, m. 27.

² *Ibid.*

³ D.C.M. i. 13.

⁴ D.C.M. i. 7.

summer of 1375, matters had not got beyond the levying of a fine by which the premises were conveyed to the trustees absolutely.¹ Soon after this, Sir John de Mohun died, the exact date being the 15th of September 1375.² He was duly buried at Bruton, in accordance with the will already mentioned. In the account of the bailiff of the hundred of Carhampton for 1387, there is a charge against the widow:—

“In holding the anniversary of the Lord de Mohun at Bruton in the last year, not already claimed, and in the present year, 21s.”³

In John de Mohun the fifth, the senior male line of the family came to an end. He left issue three daughters, all of whom made brilliant matches:—

Elizabeth, the eldest, born at Goring in 1343.⁴ She married William of Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, one of the original Knights of the Garter.⁵ She too was entitled to wear the robes of the Order.⁶ By a will dated in November 1414, she left minute instructions for her burial at Bisham Abbey opposite to the tomb of her husband, who had died in 1397.⁷ She died in the January following, without issue.⁸

Philippa, the second, doubtless a god-daughter of the Queen of Edward the Third. She married firstly Sir Walter Fitzwalter, who died in 1386, secondly Sir John Golafre, who died in 1396, and thirdly

¹ Feet of Fines, Somerset, 48 Edw. III. (Green, iii. 87.)

² Exchequer Inquisitions, series I. file 41, no. 23.

³ D.C.M. xxxi. 2.

⁴ Add. MS. 28649. f. 265.

⁵ Planché gives the date of the marriage as 1361, but without citing any authority. *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. ix. p. 374.

⁶ Beltz's *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 248, 249, 255. A statement there (p. 39) that she was “received into the sisterhood of the convent of St. Albans,” in 1408, has been misunderstood to mean that she took the veil.

⁷ Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 183.

⁸ Inq. post mortem, 4 Hen. V. no. 55.

Edward, Duke of York, who was slain at Agincourt in 1415. By a will dated at Carisbrooke Castle in 1430, she directed that she should be buried in the conventual church of Westminster, and her monument is still to be seen there in the Chapel of St. Nicholas.¹ She died in 1431, without issue.²

Maud, the youngest. She married Sir John le Strange of Knockin, who died in 1397. She predeceased her mother, leaving a son and heir Richard, who was sometimes styled 'Lord of Knockin and Mohun.'³ According to the peerages, the barony of Mohun descended through the Stranges and the Stanleys to Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, who died in 1594. As the only grandchild of the last of the Mohuns of Dunster, Sir Richard le Strange succeeded eventually to the manors of Whichford, Long Compton, Bradworthy, Greywell and Cutcombe, and perhaps to some other relics of their ancient inheritance.

It was not until more than a year after the death of Sir John de Mohun that his relict completed her bargain with Lady Luttrell. On the 18th of November 1376, a fine was levied whereby the three trustees settled the castle of Dunster, the manors of Kilton, Minehead and Carhampton, and the hundred of Carhampton on Joan de Mohun for her life, with remainder to Elizabeth Luttrell and her heirs.⁴ Two days later, a formal receipt for the purchase money was made out, which may be given in the original language :—

¹ Nicholas' *Royal Wills*, p. 224. There are engravings of the monument in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii, and Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 88.

² Inq. post mortem, 10 Hen. VI.

no. 45.

³ Feet of Fines, London & Middlesex 22 Hen. VI.

⁴ Feet of Fines, Somerset, 50 Edw. III. (Green. 89.)

*“ Sachent touz gentz que cestes lettres verrount ou orrount moy Johane que fu la femme Johan de Mohun de Donsterre, chivaler, avoir receuz de Elizabeth que fu la femme Andrew Lutrell, chivaler, cynkz mille marcz de bonne monoie en plein paiement pour le chastell de Donsterre et les manoirs de Mynheved, Culveton et Karampton, ove le hundred de Karampton ove toutes lour appartenantz. De queux cynkz mille marcz je me tiegne bien et loialment estre paieuz et la dite Elizabeth quites par ycestes. En tesmoignance de quele chose a ycestes jay mys mon seal. Donne a Londres le vintisme jour de Novembre Ian du regne le Roy Edward tierz puis le conquest cynquantisme. ”*¹

It would be interesting to know how Lady Luttrell contrived to raise so large a sum, and how she paid it over, although it is not necessary to believe that the whole of it was in coin of the realm. So too it would be interesting to know how Lady de Mohun disposed of it. A guess may, however, be hazarded that her husband had left considerable debts. It may be noted by the way that on the only occasion since the Norman Conquest on which Dunster Castle has passed by sale, it was sold by one widow and bought by another. In one respect, Lady de Mohun certainly got the best of the bargain, for she lived nearly thirty years after the receipt of the money paid for rights in reversion.

From 1376 to 1404, Dunster Castle seems to have been practically shut up. None but the most necessary repairs were made. When Lady de Mohun came down to visit her property in 1398, she took up her abode at Minehead, to which place the reeve of Dunster sent beef, mutton, and a vast quantity of beer.² For her a gloomy fortress in the west of England can have had no attraction. She greatly prefer-

¹ D.C.M. i. 32. According to Sir Hugh Luttrell the purchase money was fixed at 5500 marks. De Banco

Roll, no. 581. m. 120^d.

² D.C.M. ix. 4.

red the gay atmosphere of the Court, and, as a change, the ecclesiastical surroundings of Canterbury. Thus we hear of her staying at London, Easthampstead, and Sheen. Her agents in Somerset remitted money to her from time to time, and occasionally provisions, such as porpoises, wine and chestnuts.¹

When at Court, Lady de Mohun often exercised her influence in favour of condemned criminals.² All the while, however, she was mindful of her own interests. Not content with rents of all her late husband's estates, and the large sum that she had received from Lady Luttrell, she managed to extract valuable concessions from her royal patrons. In 1384, Richard the Second, in consideration of her good service to him and the Queen, granted to her an annuity of 100*l.* for life out of the issues of the stannary of Devon and Cornwall.³ This she afterwards exchanged for the manor and hundred of Macclesfield, which were of somewhat greater value.⁴ It is worthy of remark that in some of the letters patent she is styled the King's 'cousin,' although she was not really related to him in blood. Queen Anne gave her a lease of the important castle and manor of Leeds, in Kent, with its mill, fishery and park. Inasmuch, however, as the Queen failed to do the promised repairs, Lady de Mohun applied to the King to be excused from the payment of rent for the rest of her life.⁵

Lady de Mohun had no desire to be buried beside her husband in the obscure priory of Bruton, and,

¹ D.C.M. ix. 3, 4.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385*, pp. 306, 363; 1385-1389, p. 328; 1388-1392, p. 258.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 457.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1385-1389, pp. 35, 48, 163, 188, 372; *Thirty-fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, App. II. p. 349.

⁵ Ancient Petitions, 11003.



JOAN,
LADY DE MOHUN.



PHILIPPA,
DUCHESS OF YORK.

some years before her death, she erected for herself an elaborate monument near the altar of St. Mary in the crypt, or undercroft, of the cathedral church of Canterbury. There her effigy is still to be seen. The head rests upon two tasselled cushions supported by angels. The crown is encircled with a richly jewelled garland, and a jewelled frontlet stretches across the top of the forehead. A great mass of hair enclosed in a fret, or jewelled net, descends on both sides of the face to the level of the chin. As Lady de Mohun had long since cast off all signs of widowhood, she does not wear a *barbe* and her neck is quite bare. A row of ten very large buttons adorns the close-fitting tunic of brocade known as a *cote hardie*, without sleeves and cut away for a considerable space beneath the armholes, thus revealing part of a jewelled girdle. Beneath is a kirtle reaching down to the feet, and there are remains of an outer mantle hanging from the shoulders. The lion at her feet is mutilated, and her hands have been broken off since 1726. The dateless inscription, repeated on either side, shows the pride which, even as an aged widow, she took in her maiden name:—

Por dieu priez por l'ame Johane de Bormaschs
ke feut dame de Mohun.

The effigy lies under a groined canopy supported by six lofty buttresses connected by cusped and crocketed arches.¹ There are no armorial bearings on the monument itself, but the shields of the families of Mohun, Burghersh, Montacute, Strange and Despencer are to be seen in the cloisters of the great church above.²

¹ Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 87; Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 67; *Archæologia Cantiana*.

vol. xiii. pp. 533-535.

² Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 133.

In 1395, Lady de Mohun entered into a formal agreement with the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, that her body should be buried in the tomb which she had prepared, and never removed therefrom. One of the monks was to say mass daily for nine specified persons at the altar of St. Mary, or, on certain great festivals, at the altar of St. John Baptist near the famous tomb of St. Thomas. For this service he was to receive 2*l.* a year, and the clerk in charge of the chapel was to receive 5*s.* a year for keeping the tomb clean and in good condition. On the eve of the anniversary of her death, *placebo* and *dirige* were to be sung. On the anniversary, a solemn mass of *requiem* was to be said, the celebrant receiving 6*s.* 8*d.* and the other two clergy 3*s.* 4*d.* apiece. A hundred poor people were also to receive 1*d.* apiece. In consideration of the benefits promised, Lady de Mohun gave to the monks 350 marks, a set of three vestments of green "sendal" and two choir-copes of cloth of gold valued at 20*l.*, a missal worth 5*l.* and a chalice worth 2*l.* besides a bed worth 20*l.* of white and red "camaka," with four cushions of the same, a covering lined with blue silk and curtains of "sendal" of Genoa and Tripoli.¹

Of the nine persons for whom masses were to be said, four were living in 1395 :—Richard, King of England, Lady Joan de Mohun, the foundress of the Chantry, 'Elizabeth' presumably the Countess of Salisbury, her daughter, and Elizabeth le Despencer, her niece. The other five persons already deceased were—'John' doubtless her husband, 'Edward' perhaps the late King, another 'Edward' either the Black

¹ Legg and St. John Hope's *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, p. 99

Prince or the husband of her niece, and Philippa and Anne, Queens of England. The omission from the list of her deceased daughter Maud, her living daughter Philippa, and her living grandson Richard le Strange, is significant.¹

When Lady de Mohun felt her end approaching, she sent for the Prior of Christ Church and delivered to him a closed box, to be entrusted to the two monks who acted as guardians of the shrine (*feretri*) of St. Thomas. The box contained the royal letters patent of 1369, and various important documents connected with the sale of Dunster, Minehead, Kilton and Carhampton. Conscious that there was likely to be trouble about her action in this matter, she bound the Prior to deliver the box to her heirs or to Sir Hugh Luttrell if either they or he got possession of the property without opposition, or to the successful party if there should be a suit at law.²

On the same day, Lady de Mohun made her will, at a house in the precincts of Canterbury known as Master Omer's.³ To the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom she nominated an executor, she bequeathed a psalter covered with white, and to her son-in-law the Duke of York a fair copy of the *Legenda Sanctorum* and another illuminated book. To his wife she left her blessing, suggestive of a previous estrangement, and her best ruby. Her other daughter the Countess of Salisbury, was to have her favourite cross and a second copy of the *Legenda Sanctorum*, and Lady le Despencer the elder was to have a bed of green silk. The only other relation mentioned was William Burghersh. To the Prior of Christ Church she bequeathed some old hangings embroidered with lions

¹ Arundel MS. LXVIII. ff. 59, 60.

² De Banco Roll, no. 581, mm. 119,

120.

³ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vii. p. 96.

and some "ystayned" hangings. One of her mantles was to be reserved for the wife of Sir Thomas Hawkwood. Friar John, her own confessor, was to receive 10 marks, and another Franciscan friar named Henry, 40s. There were further legacies to her six maidservants, to Philip Caxton her clerk, to John Sumpterman and John Gardener and other men who were presumably in her service. Provision was also made for the maintenance of three young scholars then at Canterbury. Every poor person coming to her funeral was to receive 1*d.* and on that occasion twelve poor men clothed in black at her expense were to hold torches, in addition to the four great candles weighing 20 *lb.* that were to burn during the ceremony. All goods not otherwise disposed of were bequeathed to the church of Canterbury.¹

Two days after making the will to the foregoing effect, Lady de Mohun died, on the 4th of October 1404.²

¹ *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. pp. 302, 303, from Arundel's Register,

f. 218.

² *Inq. post mortem*, 6 Hen. IV. 33.



OLD TILE IN DUNSTER CHURCH
WITH THE ARMS OF MOHUN.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY LUTTRELLS

1191—1403.

Luttrell, originally spelt Luterel, or Loterel, was probably a diminutive of *Loutre*, the French word for an otter. Applied in the first instance as a personal nickname, it became a hereditary surname. The fact that a certain Osbert Lotrel had the farm of Arques in Normandy in 1180 and 1198 rather tends to confirm the idea that the family was of foreign origin.¹

His contemporary, GEOFFREY LUTTRELL, acquired a small property at Gamston and Bridgeford in Nottinghamshire in the later part of the twelfth century. During the absence of Richard the First in Palestine, this Geoffrey Luttrell took part in the unsuccessful rebellion of John, Count of Mortain, and was consequently deprived of his lands.² He was, however, reinstated after the accession of the Count to the throne of England,³ and from 1204 to 1215 he seems to have been continuously employed in public business in one capacity or another. Many royal charters of the period

¹ *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ* (ed. Stapleton), vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 422.

A certain John Loutrel of Dieppe is mentioned as a subject of the French King in 1419. Three years later, Robert Loterel was presented to a church near Bayeux. Norman Rolls, 6 Hen. V. part 2, mm. 40, 1; 9 Hen. V. m. 5.

The name of Luttrell does not occur in Domesday Book. It is almost needless to remark that the Roll of Battle Abbey, in which it is to be found, has no historical authority.

² Pipe Rolls 6 and 7 Ric. I. Notts.

³ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 91.

were witnessed by him as a person in frequent personal attendance upon the King.¹ For a time, he had authority to issue writs in the King's name with regard to wine.² He afterwards became paymaster of the King's ships.³ In 1204 and again in 1215, he was in Ireland with large administrative powers.⁴ In 1206, he was in Poitou and Gascony as one of the King's treasurers.⁵

In 1215, John appointed Sir Geoffrey Luttrell to be his sole agent in negotiations with regard to the dower of Queen Berengaria, commissioning him at the same time to join with the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Dublin in denouncing to the Pope the rebellious barons who had recently extorted the Great Charter of English Liberties. In one of the documents connected with this business, he is styled '*nobilis vir.*'⁶ His mission was so far successful that Innocent the Third annulled the Charter, suspended the Archbishop of Canterbury, and excommunicated the barons, but it is uncertain whether Sir Geoffrey Luttrell was one of those who conveyed the papal bull from Rome to England. The exact date of his death, which must have taken place in 1216, or at the latest in 1217, is not recorded.

As a reward for personal services, Sir Geoffrey Luttrell received from King John grants for life of the houses of the Jew, Isaac of York, at Oxford and Northampton, and those of another Jew named Bonnechose at the former place.⁷ The King also granted to him

¹ *Rotuli Chartarum* passim.

² *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 57, 100, 104-108, 110.

³ *Rotuli de Liberate, &c.* pp. 176, 179, 185, 188, 194, 202, 206, 208, 213, 227-229.

⁴ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 133; *Rotuli Litt. Patentium*, vol. i. pp. 39, 41, 48, 153, 154; *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 14, 137, 146, 188, 191, 224, 303.

⁵ *Rotuli Litt. Patentium*, vol. i. pp. 59, 66; *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 61, 63.

⁶ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 219; *Rotuli Litt. Patentium*, vol. i. pp. 181, 182.

⁷ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 227, 366, 386, 399, 407; *Close Rolls, 1227-1231*, pp. 276, 282; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. i. p. 109.

some land at Croxton, in Leicestershire.¹ In consideration, moreover, of twenty ounces of gold, he obtained property at Cratelach in Thomond.²

The real foundation of the subsequent prosperity of the Luttrell family was laid by the marriage of Sir Geoffrey to a daughter and coheirress of William Paynell, whose singular Christian name Frethesant is apparently a continental form of the English name Frideswyde. Although this lady's father was only a younger scion of the great family of Paynell, she and her sister, Isabel Bastard, inherited from him no less than fifteen knights' fees, for the most part situated in Yorkshire.³

In 1217, Henry of Newmarch paid 40 marks to the King for licence to marry Frethesant the relict of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell if she would consent, and the marriage duly took place.⁴

ANDREW LUTTRELL, son and heir of Sir Geoffrey, being under age at the time of his father's death, was for some months a ward of the Crown. By arrangement, however, with Ralph de Rodes, the overlord of his lands in Nottinghamshire, the King, in 1218, committed the custody of his person and his property to Philip Mark, a man of some importance in the midland counties, who had been one of the councillors of King John. It was distinctly stipulated at the time that he should marry a daughter of his guardian.⁵ By the successive deaths of his mother's niece, the only

¹ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 14, 61; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vii. p. 877.

² *Rotuli Litt. Patentium*, vol. i. p. 151; *Rotuli de Oblatis*, &c. p. 556.

³ *Pedes Finium Ebor.* (Surtees Society) pp. 87, 88; *Rotuli de Oblatis*, &c. p. 205; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 77, 430, 490, 569; Pipe Roll, 13

John, York.

⁴ *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. i. p. 9; *Testa de Nevill*, p. 375, where she is erroneously described as the relict of William Paynell.

⁵ *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. pp. 353, 356, 393, 522; *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. i. p. 83.

child of Isabel Bastard, and his own mother Frethesant, Andrew Luttrell became heir to the whole barony of his grandfather, William Paynell. On attaining his majority, in 1229, and doing the necessary homage, he obtained possession of his hereditary estates in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire.¹ In the following year, he laid claim to a considerable part of the landed property of his third cousin, Maurice of Gaunt, the heir of the elder branch of the Paynell family.

It has been remarked already that Dunster Castle has belonged to only two families, the Mohuns and the Luttrells, since the Norman Conquest.² The history of the manor of East Quantockshead, nine miles to the east of Dunster, affords a yet more remarkable instance of the continuity of land tenure in England, its present owner, Mr. G. F. Luttrell, being, through only two females, the lineal descendant of Ralph Paynell, who held it in the reign of William the Conqueror. There is no occasion to attempt in this place to trace the very complicated genealogy of the great house of Paynell, whose name still survives at Hooton Pagnell, Boothby Pagnell and Newport Pagnell. A simple table will suffice to show the relationship between Maurice of Gaunt and Andrew Luttrell.

Maurice of Gaunt died in the expedition which Henry the Third led into Brittany in the summer of 1230.³ Andrew Luttrell thereupon went to the King in Poitou and put forward a claim to the manors

¹ *Close Rolls, 1227-1231*, p. 275.

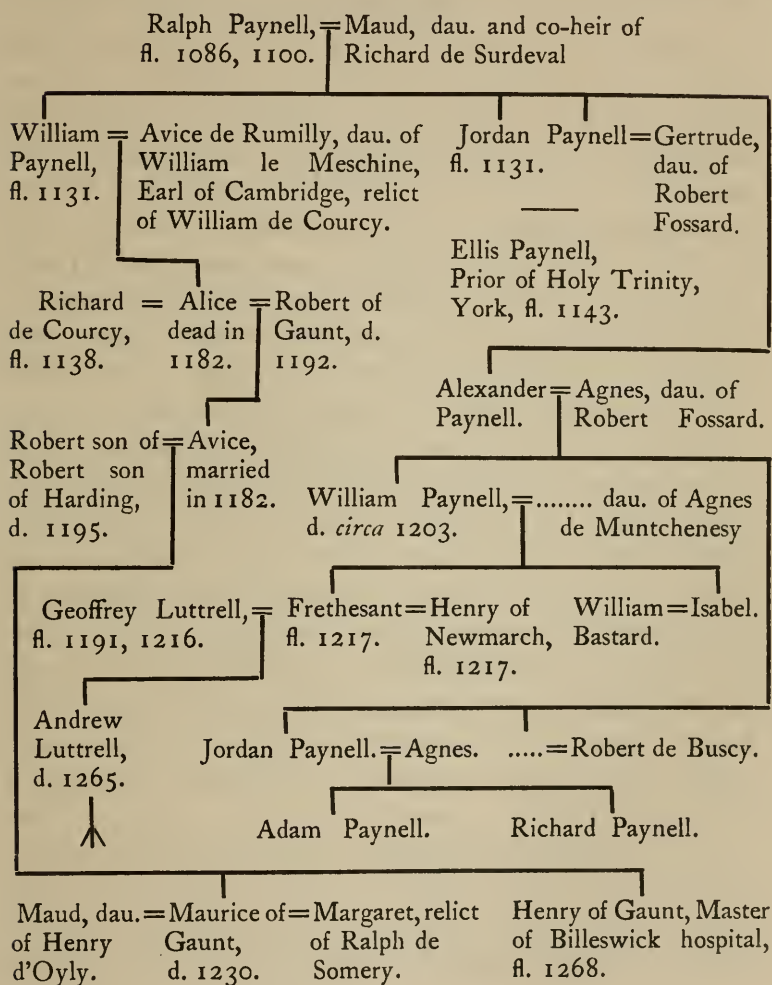
² That is, without reckoning the temporary intrusion of the Herberts, during the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III.

³ *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, vol. i.

p. 201. For a very learned, though confused, account of the Paynells and their successors, see the York volume of *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*. See also *Bracton's Notebook*, vol. ii. p. 86.

PEDIGREE OF PAYNELL

OF HOOTON, IRNHAM, AND EAST QUANTOCKSHEAD.



of (East) Quantockshead, Stockland, Huish, Pawlet and Weare in the county of Somerset, and Irnham in the county of Lincoln, as his lawful inheritance. The question of descent being obviously a difficulty, he offered to pay a hundred marks for an enquiry, provided that he should be absolved from payment in the event of his claim being disallowed. Upon these conditions, the King ordered his justices in England to institute the enquiry requested.¹ So uncertain, however, did the result appear that Walter de Evermue obtained from the King a formal grant for life of the manors of Quantockshead and Huish, subject only to the possible rights of the claimant.

A few years later, the grant was revoked, these two manors being assigned, in lieu of dower, to Margaret de Somery, the relict of Maurice of Gaunt.²

Andrew Luttrell entirely failed to show any right to the manors of Pawlet and Weare, and they accordingly passed to Robert de Gurney, son of the half-sister of the last owner.³ On the other hand, in April 1231, he obtained an order for the delivery of the manor of Irnham, upon giving security for the payment of a hundred marks, which was the amount of relief due on succession to a great barony.⁴ He had to wait thirteen months longer for an admission of his right to the manors of Stockland, Quantockshead and Huish.⁵ Some years later, a certain Maurice of Leigh and Agnes his wife, who seems to have been related to the Gaunts, set up a claim to a great part of the Paynell inheritance, and Andrew Luttrell had to cede to them Huish and East Bagborough,

¹ *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 437.

² *Ibid.* p. 499.

³ *Ibid.* p. 505; *Excerpta e Rotulis*

Finium, vol. i., pp. 205, 207.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 212.

⁵ *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 59.

retaining only the overlordship with certain services and reversionary rights.¹ Altogether, his barony comprised fifteen knights' fees of his grandfather William Paynell of Hooton, and twelve and a half fees of his cousin Maurice of Gaunt.²

In 1242, Andrew Luttrell was summoned to perform military service against the Scots.³ He was appointed Sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1251, but in the following year he paid three marks of gold for exemption during the remainder of his life from serving as justice, sheriff, bailiff, or juror.⁴ He also obtained from the King a grant of free warren on his paternal estates at Gamston and Bridgeford in Nottinghamshire, and a grant, or rather confirmation, of a weekly market and a yearly fair at Irnham, which was probably his ordinary residence.⁵ Hooton he made over to his eldest son Geoffrey, and East Quantockshead to his second son Alexander, presumably on the occasions of their respective marriages.⁶ At different times in the course of his life, he granted or confirmed lands and rights to the Abbey of Drax, founded by William Paynell, to the Priory of Nostell, to the Abbey of Roche, and to the Hospital of St. Mark at Billeswick near Bristol, founded by Maurice of Gaunt.⁷ Sir Andrew Luttrell died in 1265,⁸ leaving a widow Pernel, who was living in 1267,⁹ three sons and a daughter; —

Geoffrey, ancestor of the Luttrells of Irnham.

¹ Feet of Fines, Divers Counties, 24 Henry III, (Green, vol. i. p. 368.); *Somersetshire Pleas* (S. R. S.), p. 173.

² Pipe Roll 39 Hen. III. Yorkshire.
³ *Rôles Gascons* (ed. Michel), vol. i. p. 26.

⁴ *List of Sheriffs*, p. 78; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1247-1258*, p. 133.

⁵ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. i.

pp. 295, 392.

⁶ *Rôles Gascons*, vol. i. p. 498. See below.

⁷ Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. i. pp. 147, 170; vol. iii. p. 172.

⁸ *Calendar of Inquisitions*, vol. i. pp. 192, 195.

⁹ Giffard's Register.

Alexander, ancestor of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead, Chilton, and Dunster.

Robert, a clerk and a graduate. He was, in 1262, presented by his father to the rectory of Irnham.¹ He founded three chantries, at Irnham, Stamford and Sempringham respectively, about the year 1303.² He died in 1315, being at that time a Canon of Salisbury.³

Annora the wife of Sir Hugh Boby.⁴

ALEXANDER LUTTRELL, the second son, received from his father Andrew, a grant of the manor of East Quantockshead and the advowson of the church there, to be held by him and the heirs of his body for ever at a yearly rent of a pair of gilt spurs or 6*d.* at Whitsuntide.⁵ After the death of Sir Andrew Luttrell, this grant was confirmed by his son and heir Geoffrey,⁶ and, after the death of Margery the relict of Maurice of Gaunt, her son, Sir Roger de Somery, in 1269, released all his possible rights in East Quantockshead and conveyed it to Alexander Luttrell in fee.⁷ At one period of his life, Alexander Luttrell held some land at Hickling in Nottinghamshire.⁸

In 1266, Alexander Luttrell obtained from the King the custody of his elder brother, Sir Geoffrey, who had lost the use of his reason.⁹ In 1270, he embarked for the Holy Land in the retinue of the King's eldest son, Edward, leaving the management of his affairs at home in the hands of a neighbour,

¹ Grosseteste's Register ; Heralds' College MS. Picture of Our Lady, f. 97.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vii, p. 948.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1313-1317, p. 280; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1318-1323, p. 102.

⁴ Heralds' College MS. Vincent

61, f. 74 ; Picture of Our Lady, f. 97.

⁵ D.C.M. xxii. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*; *Somerset Fines* (ed. Green), vol. i. p. 226.

⁸ Heralds' College MS. Vincent 7, ff. 53, 88.

⁹ Patent Rolls 50 Hen. III. m. 15 ; 52 Hen. III. m. 3.

Sir Warin de Raleigh, whom he appointed his attorney for four years.¹ It is very doubtful whether he returned from the Crusade. The fact of his death was known in Somerset at the beginning of April 1273, when the king's escheator took possession of his lands.² Sir Alexander left issue two sons under age and a daughter :—

Andrew, his heir.

John, who occurs in 1305 in connexion with a wife named Rose.³

Annora, under age in 1279, who seems to have married her neighbour Ralph Fitzurse of Williton.⁴

Sir Alexander Luttrell's wife was Margery daughter and coheiress of Thomas son of William, from whom she received some land at Royton, Thorp, and Healey in Lancashire, which she and her husband sold to Sir John Byron.⁵ In July 1273, she received by way of dower a stone-roofed house opposite to the hall of her late husband's manor of East Quantockshead, another small house similarly roofed, two cow-houses, a chamber over the gate, an old garden adjoining the houses, two ponds, a third of the dovecot, and various lands, services and rents, carefully specified in the King's writ, and representing in all a third of the estate.⁶ The heir being a minor, she also obtained a lease of the other two thirds for a year and half.⁷

Before long, however, she got into trouble by marrying Sir Giles of Fishbourne, a knight who served

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 484; Close Roll 54 Hen. III. m. 6d.

² *Rotuli Hundredorum*, vol. ii. p. 125; Fine Rolls. 1 Edw. I. m. 21.

³ Herald's College MS. Picture of Our Lady, f. 77d; Vincent 92.

⁴ Assize Rolls, no. 1224, m. 12; no. 1242, m. 3d; no. 758, m. 21; no. 1345,

m. 9; D.C.M. xxxii. 100; xxxiii. 1.

⁵ Close Roll 54 Hen. III. m. 5d; *Lancashire Fines* (ed. Farrer), vol. i. p. 133; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 246.

⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 24.

⁷ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, vol. ii. p. 125.

in the Welsh wars of Edward the First. A widow whose husband held land directly under the Crown was not, in those days, a free agent. She could not re-marry without royal licence, granted sometimes as a favour to one of the parties, sometimes in consideration of a pecuniary fine. Margery Luttrell and Sir Giles of Fishbourne cannot have been ignorant of the law on this subject, but they may reasonably have supposed that she was at liberty to marry whomsoever she chose, inasmuch as her late husband's lands were held under the feudal lord of Irnham. Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, the lunatic, had, however, died in the early part of 1270, leaving as his heir a son under age, who became a ward of the King.¹ All wardships pertaining to this heir, such as that of the son of Sir Alexander Luttrell, had passed without question to the King, and the agents of the Crown alleged that Sir Alexander had held direct of the King during the minority of the intermediate lord. On this ground they contended that Margery was one of the King's widows, and Sir Ralph of Sandwich seized East Quantockshead, in the name of his royal master, on account of her offence. The course of the subsequent proceedings is not very clear. Sir Giles and Margery were certainly married as early as 1276; an undated petition for redress was apparently referred to the Parliament of 1278, but it was not until 1280 that Sir Giles of Fishbourne received formal pardon of his marriage.²

ANDREW LUTTRELL, the eldest son of Sir Alexander, was, as we have seen, a minor at the time of his father's death. The custody of the manor of East Quantocks-

¹ Patent Roll 54 Hen. III. m. 8.

p. 363; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-*

² *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. i. p. 5; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279*,

1281, p. 384.

head, or rather of his two thirds of it, was, in the autumn of 1274, committed to Robert Tibetot by the King, as guardian of his overlord, the son of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.¹ Andrew Luttrell was, in 1301, summoned to perform military service against the Scots, being reckoned as belonging to Devonshire, where he held land at Whitwell.² He was knighted in due course, and he was living in 1310.³ While still in his teens, and during the lifetime of his father, he had, in 1270, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Warin de Raleigh.⁴ He appears to have left three sons :—

Alexander, his heir.

John, ancestor of the Luttrells of Dunster.

Andrew, a clerk. When instituted to the rectory of East Quantockshead at a very early age, in April 1329, on the nomination of Sir Alexander Luttrell, he took an oath to study diligently at an English University. Formal leave of absence for this purpose was granted to him a few months later. His diocesan allowed him to be ordained acolyte in December of that year and subdeacon in the following February, by some other bishop, and his leave of absence was renewed in December 1330. In March 1337, he received permission to stay in the service of his brother John. A priest was appointed to succeed him at East Quantockshead in 1341.⁵

ALEXANDER LUTTRELL, the eldest son of Sir Andrew, was born about 1285.⁶ He seems to have succeeded his father in or before 1326, when he received respite

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 103 ; *Assize Roll no. 1224*, m. 10b.

² *Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 351 ; *Feudal Aids* vol. i. p. 329.

³ D.C.M. xxii. 1 ; xxxvii. 1.

⁴ D.C.M. xxii. 1 ; *Assize Roll no. 1224*, mm. 10b, 14.

⁵ *Drokensford's Register* (S.R.S.), p. 300 ; *Ralph's Register* (S.R.S.), pp. 6, 20, 31, 64, 313, 330, 433.

⁶ *Inq. post mortem*, C.Edw.III, file 19(3).

from taking knighthood.¹ He was knighted by Edward the Third at the coronation in the early part of February 1327.² In the same year, a friar minor of Bridgewater was licensed by the bishop of the diocese to act as confessor to Sir Alexander Luttrell and his household.³ In 1342, Sir Alexander Luttrell was one of the collectors of the King's wool in the county of Somerset.⁴ The manor of East Quantockshead was, in 1329, settled on him and Mary his wife.⁵ On the authority of some manuscript at Brymore, Thomas Palmer, followed as usual by Collinson and by Savage, states that this lady was a daughter of Sir Thomas Trivet the judge.⁶ Inasmuch, however, as Sir Thomas Trivet died in 1283, this does not appear probable.⁷ On the other hand, it is almost certain that she was nearly related to the Mandevilles. In 1322, the manor of Hardington was settled on Robert de Mandeville, the last male of the family, for his life, with remainder to Alexander Luttrell and Mary his wife in tail, and ultimate remainder to the heirs of Robert de Mandeville.⁸ Furthermore, Thomas Luttrell, son of Alexander and Mary, was, in 1349, found to be cousin and heir of Peter of Falconbridge, who is known to have been the nephew of Robert de Mandeville.⁹

There is at Dunster an agreement by which the Master and brethren of St Mark's House at Billeswick undertook, in 1340, to pay 10*l.* a year out of

¹ *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 743, 751.

² Exchequer Accounts, bundle 383, no. 4.

³ *Drokensford's Register*, p. 282.

⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1341-1343*, pp. 507, 519, 540.

⁵ *Feet of Fines*, (S.R.S.), vol. ii. p. 138.

⁶ MS. at St. Audries.

⁷ Foss's *Judges of England*.

⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1321-1327*, p. 178; Inq. ad quod damnum, files 128, no. 14; 152, no. 19; 161, no. 1. Mr. J. Batten, who did not know of the entail, suggests that Luttrell was "only a trustee," because he alienated the manor some years later. *Historical Notes on South Somerset*, p. 134.

⁹ Inq. post mortem, 23 Edw. III. no. 56; Batten, p. 135.

their manor of Pawlet to Sir Alexander Luttrell and Lucy his wife for their lives, if Sir Alexander would quitclaim to them all his right in the manor of Stockland Gaunt, concerning which a suit was pending in the King's court. The record of the suit, which was argued at some length on a technical point, shows that Sir Alexander Luttrell claimed that his grandfather of the same name had been enfeoffed by Sir Geoffrey Luttrell in the reign of Edward the First.¹ In the same year, 1340, the manor of East Quantockshead, with the exception of eight messuages, two mills, and a hundred and forty-eight acres of land, was settled on Sir Alexander Luttrell and his second wife Lucy, with remainder to his heirs.²

In 1343, Sir Alexander Luttrell arranged a marriage between his eldest son, Thomas, and Joan daughter of Sir John Palton, and undertook to give them 10*l.* a year out of the manor of East Quantockshead. He also settled on them the reversion, after his own death, of the messuages, mills and land which had been excepted from the settlement on his second wife. Sir John Palton on the other hand undertook to pay him 200 marks, and to maintain the young couple during the life of Sir Alexander.³

Five years later, Sir Alexander Luttrell conveyed the whole manor to Sir John Palton, and Thomas Luttrell and Joan his wife in tail, for a yearly rent of 40 marks and of a robe worth 40*s.* or 40*s.* in money. They at the same time demised to him for his life a hall with certain rooms, a close called La Neweleygh-ton, a stable in the outer court of the manor house, the hay growing at La Reghmede, and fuel, 'house-

¹ Placita de Banco, no. 239. m. 94 ;
Year Book, 14 Edw. III, pp. 208-223.

² *Feet of Fines*, (S.R.S.), vol. ii. p. 204.

³ D.C.M. XXII. 1 ; Court of Wards
and Liveries, Deeds and Evidences,
II. 2.

bote' and 'haybote.' Lastly, at the end of March 1354, he conveyed the manor and the advowson of East Quantockshead to Sir John Palton and Thomas Luttrell at the reduced rent of 20/.¹ In the following month, he was killed at Watchet, together with Alexander Montfort and John Strechleye. Several persons were found guilty of murder, and others were declared to have been present and assisting.²

THOMAS LUTTRELL, son and successor of Sir Alexander, was born about the year 1324.³ During the lifetime of his father, in 1346, the manor of Milton Falconbridge and other lands near Martock, which descended to him through his mother, were settled on him and Joan his wife in tail, with remainder to his heirs.⁴ This property seems, however, to have been alienated ere long. In 1359, Thomas Luttrell acquired full possession of the manor and advowson of East Quantockshead by means of a release from his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Palton, and in the following year he caused the manor to be settled on himself and his second wife Denise.⁵ This lady is stated to have survived him and to have married secondly Thomas Popham.⁶ She was apparently the mother of the last Luttrell of East Quantockshead in the direct line.

JOHN LUTTRELL, only son of Thomas, succeeded in the later part of the reign of Edward the Third. It is stated that, in 1366, Sir Andrew Luttrell of Irnham granted the wardship of this John Luttrell to Sir Baldwin Malet of Enmore,⁷ and a reference to the

¹ D.C.M. xxii. 1; Assize Roll no. 1448. m. 52.

² Assize Roll no. 772. m. 23d.

³ Inq. post mortem, 23 Edw. III. no. 56.

⁴ D.C.M. xxxvii. 36.

⁵ D.C.M. xxii. 1, 2.

⁶ Palmer MS. at St. Audries.

⁷ *Ibid.* The reference is apparent-

pedigree of the Luttrells of Irnham shows that Sir Andrew was at that date the overlord of East Quantockshead. The manor and the advowson were, in 1398, settled on John Luttrell and Joan his wife,¹ who is stated to have been daughter and coheir of Thomas Kingston.² At the coronation of Henry the Fourth in 1399, John Luttrell was created one of the Knights of the Bath.³ In March 1400, the King took him into his permanent service, and gave him an annuity of 40*l.* out of the issues of the county of Somerset.⁴ A year later, the King granted him a further annuity of 16*l.* payable at the Exchequer, and confirmed to him an annuity of 10*l.*, granted by John of Gaunt out of the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁵ Sir John Luttrell was Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset for a year beginning in the autumn of 1401.⁶ In the summer of 1403, he took up arms on the King's behalf "to resist the malice of a certain Sir Henry Percehaye, knight," that is to say to oppose the rising of the Percies, the Mortimers and Owen Glendower. By a will expressing this intention and dated the 20th of May, he directed that if he should die without lawful issue before returning to his mansion at East Quantockshead, the manor and the advowson of the church there and his lands at Alfoxton and Watchet should, after payment of his debts, be conveyed by his feoffees to his cousin Sir Hugh Luttrell and the heirs of his body, or, failing

ly to an original MS. at Dunster, but Thomas Palmer, or his copyist, must have made some mistake. There is no such deed of grant at Dunster now, and there is no mention of it in the compilations of Prynne and Narcissus Luttrell. It would probably have remained among the muniments of the Malet family.

¹ D.C.M. xxii. 4.

² Palmer MS. Here again the reference to a MS. at Dunster is incorrect.

³ Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 511.

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 238.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 549.

⁶ *List of Sheriffs*, p. 123.

them, to the heirs and assigns of John Venables.¹

According to Palmer, he made a supplementary will on the 4th of June, which was proved on the 4th of August in the same year. By this, it is stated, he directed that some land at Williton was to be conveyed to Thomas Popham for life, with remainder to his own maternal brother, Richard Popham, and the heirs of his body, and, in default of such, to be sold for the benefit of his soul, the souls of his ancestors, and the soul of John Fitzurse. The manor of Iwood was to be sold for the payment of his debts. There was a legacy of 20*l.* to Dame Cecily Berkeley, which, if renounced, was to be laid out for her soul's health. Lastly, he is stated to have made provision for "four of his servant maids and certain children they were mothers of."

Elsewhere, Palmer states that in the 14th year of Edward IV (1474), Anne Watts, widow, gave land at Wellow and money to the Priory of Barlinch, in order that divine service might be performed for the souls of her brother Richard Luttrell, their mother Mary, her own two husbands, Robert Bulsham and Richard Watts, and her daughter by Bulsham, Agnes the wife of Peter Bampfield of Hardington.² Richard Luttrell was constable of Dunster Castle from 1430 to 1449, and perhaps longer.³ He lived in a house on the site of the present *Luttrell Arms Hotel*. Under an entail of 1449, he might have succeeded to the whole Barony of Dunster, but he died without lawful issue, and, as he was a bastard, his property at Kentsford near Watchet escheated to his overlord, James Luttrell of Dunster.⁴

¹ D.C.M. i. 15. The seal attached to this document, although professing to be that of the testator, is clearly not his. It bears a shield charged with six cross-crosslets, a castle for crest, and the initials "R.C."

² MS. at St Audries.

³ D.C.M. xviii. 3, 4.

⁴ Inq. post mortem, 1 Edw. IV. no. 43 : D.C.M. i. 23, 25. An erasure in the letters patent is remarkable.

CHAPTER III.

THE LUTTRELLS OF CHILTON AND DUNSTER

1337—1485.

The direct line of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead having come to an end in the person of Sir John Luttrell, K.B. most of their lands passed to a younger branch which already had property in Devonshire.

JOHN LUTTRELL, the founder of this younger branch, is distinctly stated in a brief of the time of Henry the Sixth to have been brother of Sir Andrew Luttrell of East Quantockshead,¹ but a careful examination of dates makes it almost certain that he was his son. When, in March 1337, Edward the Third conferred the title of Duke of Cornwall upon his eldest son Edward, and created six earls, he solemnly dubbed a number of knights, of whom this John Luttrell was one.² In the very same month, Andrew Luttrell the youthful rector of East Quantockshead received episcopal licence to stay for a while in the service of his brother John.³ In the same year, Sir John Luttrell acquired property at Chilton in the parish of Thorverton in Devon.⁴ He also had land at Lundy Island.⁵ He is sometimes described as ‘ lord of

¹ D.C.M. xxxv. 24. (A.D. 1471.)

p. 300.

² Cotton MS. Faustina, B. VI. f. 87. Cf. Stow's *Annals*, p. 233, and *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker* (1889), p. 58.

⁴ Inq. ad quod damnum, file 239, no. 10.

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1343-1346, p. 673.

³ *Drokensford's Register* (S.R.S.),

Chilton,' and his manor there was known as Chilton Luttrell.¹ He was a commissioner of array in 1347 and 1359, and he was returned to Parliament as one of the knights of the shire of Devon in 1360 and 1363.² The date of his death is not known. His relict Joan survived until 1378.³

ANDREW LUTTRELL, son of Sir John and Joan, established the fortunes of his family by his marriage with Elizabeth, relict of Sir John de Vere, son of the Earl of Oxford, a lady of the most illustrious lineage. Her father, Hugh, Earl of Devon, one of the companions in arms of Edward the Third, and one of the original Knights of the Garter, was head of the noble house of Courtenay. Her mother, Margaret, was daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Constable of England, "the flower of knighthood and the most Christian knight of the knights of the world," by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward the First. Her eldest brother was, like her father, an original Knight of the Garter; a second brother became Archbishop of Canterbury; a third Lieutenant of Ireland, and a fourth Governor of Calais. Through her sisters, she was closely connected with the Lords Cobham and Harington.

Lady Elizabeth Vere was a widow in 1350. On the occasion of her marriage to Andrew Luttrell, in the summer of 1359, Edward the Third gave them an annuity of 200*l.* for their lives, in aid of the maintenance of their social position.⁴ In 1361, Sir Andrew Luttrell and his wife went on pilgrimage to

¹ Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.* p. 123; D.C.M. II. 9.

² *Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. i. pp. 163, 172.

³ There is some contradiction about the exact date. Inq. post mortem,

1 Ric. II. no. 22; 8 Ric. II. no. 26. Escheators' Enrolled Accounts (L. T. R.) 3, m. 31; 5, m. 31; 8, m. 11; 9, m. 36.

⁴ Patent Rolls, 24 Edw. III, part 2, m. 26; 33 Edw. III. m. 25.

the famous shrine of Santiago de Compostella, with a retinue of twenty-four men and women and as many horses.¹ The lady was for some time in the service of her cousins, Edward 'the Black Prince' and the 'Fair Maid of Kent,' his wife. The annuity of 200*l.* was confirmed by Richard the Second in 1378, and renewed in favour of Lady Luttrell in 1381, her husband having died in the interval.² In the meanwhile, Lady Luttrell had, with part of her savings, bought the reversion of the manors of Feltwell in Norfolk, and Moulton, Debenham and Waldingfield in Suffolk.³ A charter of free warren therein was issued in her favour in 1373.⁴ She also acquired the right of appointing two of the canons of the priory of Flitcham.⁵

The most important pecuniary transaction of this Lady Luttrell was, however, her purchase of the reversion of the castle of Dunster, the manors of Kilton, Minehead and Carhampton and the hundred of Carhampton, of five thousand marks.⁶ As she predeceased the vendor, she never obtained actual possession of this valuable property. Dying at Bermondsey on the 7th of August 1395, she was buried, by her own desire, in the Benedictine Church of St. Nicholas at Exeter.⁷ Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, in August of that year, ordered public prayers to be offered throughout his diocese for the souls of Margaret Cobham and Elizabeth Luttrell, sisters of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, by way of encouragement, promised an indulgence of forty days to the faithful who should pray for them.⁸

¹ Close Roll, 35 Edw. III. m. 22.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1377-1381, p. 170; 1381-1385, p. 15.

³ D.C.M. xxxvii, 38-42.

⁴ Charter Roll, 47 Edw. III.

⁵ D.C.M. xxxvii. 38.

⁶ Pp. 50, 52, 53, above.

⁷ Inq. post mortem, 19 Ric. II. nos. 47, 48; D.C.M. xxxvii. 42.

⁸ Stafford's Register, vol. i. f. 4*b*.

HUGH LUTTRELL, son of Sir Andrew and Elizabeth, was born about 1364. By the successive deaths of his grandmother Dame Joan Luttrell in 1378, and of his elder brother John, soon afterwards, he became heir to the small paternal estate at Chilton in Devonshire, but he did not obtain actual possession of it until 1385, when he was in the King's service abroad.¹ He was for a time an esquire in the household of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.² At the beginning of 1390, he is mentioned as a knight having influence at Court, and, two months later, he took part in some jousts at St. Inglevert near Calais.³ In consideration of his services, he received from Richard the Second, in 1391, a grant of an annuity of 20*l.* out of the confiscated English property of the priory of St. Nicholas at Angers.⁴ Four years later, a further annuity of 40*l.* was granted to him, on his undertaking to remain with Richard the Second for life.⁵ By the death of his mother, in 1395, he got a considerable accession of property. He was also given the reversion of the keepership of the forest of Gillingham and the constableness of the castle of Leeds in Kent.⁶ In 1394 and again in 1399, he accompanied his royal master and kinsman to Ireland.⁷

The accession of the house of Lancaster proved no detriment to Sir Hugh Luttrell. Henry the Fourth, son of his old patron, had not been on the throne many weeks before he confirmed to him his annuities of 60*l.* and the forestership of Gillingham, and gave

¹ Inq. post mortem, 1 Ric. II. no. 22; 8 Ric. II. no. 26. Escheators' Enrolled Accounts, 7, m. 52; 8, mm. 11, 17; 9, m. 36.

² Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books, no. 14, f. 6*d.*

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1388-1392, p. 181; Pichon (quoted in Wylie's

History of England, vol. ii. p. 91).

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1388-1392, p. 465.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1391-1396, p. 620.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 422.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 476.

him 5*l.* a year in lieu of the constableness of Leeds. The letters patent to this effect were, however, surrendered and cancelled in 1404, when the King remitted to him a sum of 482*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* due to the Exchequer in respect of lands farmed by him in Kent.¹

Sir Hugh Luttrell was at Calais in 1400, in some capacity unspecified.² His receiver in the west of England sent 22 marks to him "by the hands of John Luttrell, son of Richard Lutrell, at his coming from Colec, at the feast of the Nativity of St. John in the fourth year," that is to say at Midsummer 1403.³ On the death of his cousin, Sir John Luttrell, K.B. in that year, he succeeded to the estate at East Quantockshead. His receiver paid "to Richard, rector of Cantokeshede, to pay to the executors of Sir John Lutrell for divers things bought for the use of my lord, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*", and also "to the same executors, by the hands of Richard Popham, by indenture, 6 marks."⁴ Later in the same year, Sir Hugh was appointed one of the ambassadors to treat with the Commissioners of the King of France and afterwards with the Commissioners of the Duke of Burgundy.⁵ Several of their official letters have been preserved, and in one of them he is specifically described as Lieutenant of Calais.⁶ In the spring of 1404, he was appointed Mayor of Bordeaux by royal authority, but his stay in Gascony cannot have been long, although no successor to him was appointed until March 1406.⁷

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 142; Memoranda Roll, K.R. 5 Hen. IV.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 271.

³ D.C.M. I. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ French Roll, 4 & 5 Hen. IV. mm.

14, 7.

⁶ *Royal and Historical Letters* (ed. Hingeston), pp. 170, 177, 186, 188, 194, 197, 202, 204.

⁷ *Proceedings of the Privy Council* (ed. Nicolas), vol. i. p. 223; Gascon Rolls 3-5 Hen. IV. m. 2; 6 Hen. IV. m. 5.

Sir Hugh Luttrell was elected one of the knights of the shire for Somerset in the Parliament which was summoned to meet at Coventry on the 6th of October 1404, and he was paid for forty-six days' personal attendance.¹

Two days before the meeting of that Parliament, Lady de Mohun died, and it is not likely that Sir Hugh Luttrell lost any time in putting forward his claim to the estate of which his mother had bought the reversion from her some twenty-eight years previously. In the first instance, however, the escheator intervened on behalf of the Crown, and on the 17th of October, the King, anticipating complications, gave a temporary lease of the Mohun property to William Grene and John Lawrence, esquires, for a considerable rent. These lessees remained in occupation of Dunster until the 17th of February 1405, when Sir Hugh Luttrell presumably obtained possession.² He was certainly established there a few months later. His household accounts for that year supply various notices of his proceedings in Somerset and of his going to Wales to fight against Owen Glendower.

July 3. "Paid by order of my lord for the expenses of a varlet of my lady the Countess of La Marche sent with her letters to my lord, as in his horse being in the town, 15½*d.*"

July 8. "Paid by order of my lord for the expenses of the horses of the Earl of Pembroke riding towards the King, 20*d.*"³

July 29. "In a pottle of wine because of the Archdeacon of Taunton, 4*d.*"

July 31. "Paid by order of my lord to William Godwyn for so much borrowed of him on the day on which the beasts on Exmore were brought together, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

¹ Close Roll, 6 Hen. IV. m. 5*d.*

² Placita de Banco, no. 584, mm. 339, 339*d.*

³ There was no Earl of Pembroke in 1405. The person so styled was probably Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthyn.

August 25. " In the gift of my lord to a messenger of the King bringing to him his letters by which the King ordered him to hasten towards the parts of Wales, 3s. 4d. Also on the same day, paid by order of my lord for the expenses of the horses of the Earl of Pembroke returning from the King and those of other strangers, 3s. 5½d. "

September 11. " In a cart twice carrying victuals from the castle to the haven towards my lord who was in Wales, 6d. " " Also on the same day paid for six standards of my lord's arms delivered to divers ships of Minhede carrying victuals to my lord in the parts of Wales, 2s. "

" Also paid in the expenses of my lord and his household riding towards the King who was at Leicestre and absent for four whole weeks, 4l. 15s. 8d. Also paid to John Cotes at his lodging at Henyngham, my lord being there, as more fully appears in indentures made between my lord and him, 4l. 13s. 4d. "

September 12. " Paid to two armourers cleaning my lord's armour for fourteen days and a half, at 14d. a day, both for them and for a servant who waited on them (*famulo eisdem serviendi*) for the same time, 16s. 11d. "

October 2. " In bread and ale bought for certain seamen who were in the ship (*batella*) Howell sent to the parts of Wales to get news of my lord who was there in the retinue of the King, 12d. "

October 9. " In 88 wheaten loaves bought and sent to my lord in the parts of Wales, every loaf at a halfpenny, 3s. 8d. "

October 23. " In horse bread bought for the horses of my lord who was at Dunstre, 22d. "

October 26. " Delivered to my lord going on pilgrimage to the Chapel of the Holy Trinity of Bircombe, 12d. "

The chapel thus mentioned may probably be identified with a small ruin now known as 'Burgundy Chapel,' standing a little above the sea in a secluded valley on the west side of Minehead, not far from Greenaleigh Farm. Sir Hugh Luttrell evidently held

it in special honour, for, in several subsequent years, he gave considerable sums "to a chaplain celebrating in the chapel of Byrcombe" on his account.

November 13. "To two armourers cleaning my lord's armour for eleven days, at 4*d.* a day apiece, 7*s.* 4*d.* In fresh lard (*sepo porci*) for the same, 7*d.*"

"In the gift of my lady to Thomas Kynge riding towards Saunton as her messenger, 8*d.*"

"In the gift of my lord to John the charioteer (*Charettier*) bringing my lady from London to Dunsterre, 20*s.*, and for certain expenses incurred and paid by him, as he stated, 15*d.*"

December 20. "In the gift of my lord, by his order, to two servants of the Prior of Dunsterre who presented to my lady twelve capons, two little bacon-pigs and four bushels of green peas, 16*d.*" (The mention of green peas at Christmas is interesting.)

"For hose and shoes necessary to William Russel and Robert the keeper of the horses, because of the approach of Christmas, 20*d.* In paid for the fur of six gowns (*togarum*) of my lady and her daughters, against the same feast, 4*s.* 10*d.*"

"Also, on the same day, in the gift of my lord to a varlet of John Clifton bringing two bucks from Gillingham, 20*d.* Also on Christmas Eve, in rushes bought to strew in the hall and the chambers, 6*d.* Also, on Christmas Day, in the offerings of the servants of the household distributed in the church, by order of my lord, 2*s.*"

December 26. "In the gift of my lord to three tenants of John Cobleston who played before him 3*s.* 4*d.* In the gift of the same to six tenants of Dunsterre who played before him, 3*s.* 4*d.* In the gift of the same to several children of Minhede who danced before him, 20*d.*"

December 27. "In wine bought and conveyed from Taunton on account of the feast held by my lord, 7*s.*"

1406. January 5. "In the gift of my lord to two servants of my lady of Pawlet who brought the carcase of an ox and a boar and a live 'grue,' and presented them to my lady, 6*s.* 8*d.*; and in the expenses of their horses that were in the town for a night, 17*d.* Also on the same day in the gift of my lord to a servant of William Godwyn who brought a boar

and presented it to my lady against Christmas, 20*d.* Also in the gift of my lord to the Clerks of St. Nicholas, 12*d.*"¹

The clerks of St. Nicholas were probably boys connected with the Priory of Dunster, of whom one styled the 'boy bishop' was, by irreverent custom, allowed to perform certain religious functions in church between the feast of St. Nicholas and that of the Holy Innocents, in the month of December.²

Amid the merriment of the first Christmas that Sir Hugh kept at his new home, he had cause for grave anxiety, his title to Dunster, Minehead, Carhampton and Kilton being challenged by the coheirs of Sir John and Lady de Mohun. Edward, Duke of York and Philippa his wife, Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, and Richard, Lord Strange of Knockin, a formidable combination, had already begun legal proceedings with a view to recovering the estates of which the reversion had been sold to Lady Luttrell. On the 14th of May 1405, the King had appointed nine special commissioners, including the two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to take an assize of novel disseisin in the matter.³

The household accounts of Sir Hugh Luttrell contain several allusions to the suit :—

1405. July 10. "For expenses incurred by my lord himself and strangers who came to him at Yewelchestre, because his adversaries intended on that day to have arraigned the assize against him, 67*s.* 11*d.*"

1406. January 3. "Paid for four quires of paper bought, 2*s.* Paid for twelve skins of parchment on which to write the evidences of my lord, at Briggewater, 2*s.* 8*d.* In the expenses of John Bacwell about the writing of the said

¹ D.C.M. XXXVII. 7.

² For boy bishops see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Strutt's *Sports and Pas-*

times, Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton College*, etc.

³ Patent Roll, 6 Hen. IV. part 2, m. 22*d.*

evidences and other affairs of my lord, who was there for six days, 12*s.* "

January 5. " In the expenses of my lord who came to Brigewater for certain causes touching his plea, 3*s.* 1*d.* And in his gift to a lawyer, a kinsman of Richard Popham, 6*s.* 8*d.* "

In Easter term 1406, Sir Hugh Luttrell brought a subsidiary suit against Thomas, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, for the delivery of the sealed chest which Lady de Mohun had deposited in his charge two days before her death. He was opposed by the coheirs of Mohun, but, after full argument, the chest was opened in the Court of Common Pleas, and adjudicated to him, the contents being title deeds to property of which he was in actual possession.¹

Some weeks later, a novel arrangement was made for the determination of the main controversy.

On the 19th June, the House of Commons sent up a petition praying that the suit concerning the castle and manor of Dunster, the manors of Minehead, Kilton, and Carhampton, and the hundred of Carhampton, with their appurtenances, should be referred to the award and judgement of four lords of the realm and all the justices. To this the Duke of York, on behalf of himself and his parceners agreed, stipulating only that the lords selected and the justices should swear before the King in Parliament to settle the matter according to the laws of the realm before a certain day, without showing favour to either party. The plaintiffs accordingly nominated two laymen, the Lords Roos and Furnival, and the defendant nominated the Bishops of Exeter and St David's. The 1st of November was moreover fixed as the latest day for their decision. The Bishop of Exeter and the two lay

¹ Placita de Banco, no. 581, m. 119.

lords took the stipulated oaths on the spot, and Parliamentary authority was given to the King's Council to receive the oaths of the other arbitrators during the recess then about to begin. Seven of the judges were sworn before the King and the Bishop of Durham, then Chancellor of England, at the house of the latter on the 3rd of July, William Gascoigne, the Chief Justice being absent. It was not, however, until the 22nd of October that the court was fully constituted, the Bishop of St David's then taking the oath, together with Laurence Drue who had been substituted for the Bishop of Exeter. The arguments seem to have been continued, by consent of the parties, beyond the date originally fixed for the decision, but without any result, no definite issue having been joined, and the parties being still "*en travers*."¹

At some unspecified date in November or December, the Commons took up the matter again on behalf of Sir Hugh Luttrell, who sat among them as one of the members for Devonshire. Contrasting "the poor estate of the said Hugh" with "the great estates" of his adversaries, they prayed that the special assize should be repealed, unless concerned with evidence already produced, and that no fresh commission for a special assize should be issued. They further prayed that if a suit should be instituted for trial by the country in the normal manner, nobody should be put on the jury who had not 40*l.* a year in land, and they ended by observing that the estates in question were of great value and the parties powerful persons, so that "mischief and riot" might easily arise unless special precautions were taken. To this the King replied that the statute made should be observed, and

¹ *Rotuli Paliamentorum*, vol. iii. pp. 577, 578.

that the Sheriff of Somerset should be sworn before the Council to empanel the most sufficient and impartial persons in his bailiwick.¹

There is at Dunster Castle an original deposition made by Sir Baldwin Malet at Enmore on the 30th of December 1406, that he and other military tenants of the Honour of Dunster had duly recognised the conveyance made by Sir John and Lady de Mohun to the Bishop of London and other trustees. Attached to it is an undated list of the principal men of Somerset, classified as "knights," "esquires with 100 marks at the least," and "esquires with 40*l.* at the least." Dots against the names of twelve persons of the second category suggest that they were to be empanelled as a jury.² Nevertheless it seems fairly clear that the case was heard at Ilchester, in Michaelmas term, by special commissioners, probably the whole judicial bench, as Markham and Hankford, who had not been nominated in the commission of the 14th of May 1405, took part in the proceedings. The two Chief Justices, the Chief Baron, and other judges were certainly present, and a long array of serjeants and counsel. Robert Tirwhit conducted the case for the plaintiffs, and Robert Hill for the defendant. Some of their arguments have been reported at considerable length, dealing with highly technical points of law. For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that the plaintiffs disputed the validity in law of certain transactions subsequent to the entail of 1346.³ The report ends abruptly with an adjournment, and all that we know further about the matter is that Sir Hugh Luttrell remained in possession.

Sir Hugh Luttrell was again returned as a knight

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii. p. 597.

² D.C.M. IV. 17.

³ *Year Book*, Mich. 8 Hen. IV. no. 12.

of the shire for Devon in 1407.¹ Three years later, when he was Steward of the Household of Queen Joan, he was appointed by her to the offices of constable of Bristol Castle and keeper of the forests of Kingswood and Fulwood for the term of her life.² In 1414, he was returned to two Parliaments as member for Somerset. There are some entries about the constableness of Bristol in his accounts a few years later :—

1420. "In the expenses of John, son of my lord, and William Godwyn travelling to London for the patents of my lord concerning Bristol, and for other business of my lord, in going and returning, for sixteen days, in all 40s."

"Paid to the clerk of the Pipe for searching the evidences and record of the receipts of the Constable of Bristol and of the dues coming to him, 3s. 4d."

1421. "Of 20l. received from William Godewyn of my lord's fee from the castle of Bristol."

Soon after the outbreak of the war with France, Sir Hugh Luttrell seems to have been sent over to Normandy as one of the councillors of the Governor of Harfleur.³ The following entry occurs in the roll of his accounts for the year ending at Michaelmas 1416 :—

"In the expenses of Thomas Hody and John Bacwell with three servants and six horses from Hampton to Dunster, 9s. 9½d." ⁴

Hody was the receiver-general, and Bacwell the domestic chaplain. In the absence of their employer, they lodged at Dunster Castle for some weeks. The only member of the family who is definitely stated to have been there at this time was William Luttrell,

¹ *Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 271.

² Patent Roll, 14 Hen. IV. m. 22.

³ Hall's *Union of the families of Lancaster and York*.

⁴ D.C.M. i. 16.

Sir Hugh's son, and he stayed only two weeks. His groom and the groom of his brother John were there for five weeks apiece.¹

In February 1417, Sir Hugh Luttrell undertook, for a sum of 286*l.* to serve the King in the French war for a year, with one knight, nineteen esquires, and sixty archers.² The muster of his company, taken before embarkation a few months later, shows that he had serving under him Sir Geoffrey Luttrell of Irnham, the head of his family, John Luttrell, his own son, William Godwyn, his son-in-law, and sixteen other esquires, forty-two mounted archers and twenty-five archers on foot.³ None of the number were military tenants of the Honour of Dunster. The following entries occur in the accounts kept at Dunster :—

1417. "Paid to three Breton prisoners going into Britany for their ransoms and those of their fellows, for their expenses, 10*s.*"

"In the expenses of a French friar for six weeks, at 20*d.* a week, 10*s.* Also of six Bretons and a page, captives, of whom three for thirteen weeks at 10*d.* a week, and three for four weeks, and the page for ten weeks, 50*s.* 10*d.* Also of a man of Portugal for seven weeks, 8*s.* 2*d.* Of another from Portugal for two weeks, 2*s.* 4*d.*"

"For the expenses of my lord travelling to the sea, on the 8th of July, 7*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*"

"In the passage of my lord, paid for meat taken for my lord's hawk and expenses up to the same time, 16*d.*"⁴

In the same year there is the following detailed account :—

"The barge called the *Leonard* of Dounstere.

The account of Philip Clopton, master of the barge of the

¹ D.C.M. 1. 16.

² Vincent MS. (Heralds' College)
29, f. 55.

³ Accounts, Exchequer. K.R., bundle
51, no. 2.

⁴ D.C.M. 1. 16.

noble lord, Sir Hugh Lutrell, knight, lord of Dounstere, as for a voyage made by her from the port of Mynhede to Bordeaux and back in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth. The same answers for 42*l.* 10*s.* received for the freight of the wine of divers merchants for the aforesaid voyage.

"In paid for food, drink, planks, nails, wages of workmen, and other necessities bought, and expenses, as in the repair of the said barge, in part by the survey of the reeve of Minhede, as appears by a shedule.... 4*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* And in 6 pieces of 'tielde' bought for the covering of the ship, 13*s.* 4*d.* In 2 rolls of 'oleyn' bought for repairing the sail 42*s.* In old anchors repaired, 6*s.* 8*d.* In 'canevas' bought for repairing the aforesaid sail, 7*s.* In empty pipes and 'barelles' bought for placing flour in, together with grease bought for rubbing the same barge, 11*s.* In 7 broad planks bought for 'alcassyng' of the same, 6*s.* 8*d.* In 5 live oxen bought at 12*s.* apiece, deducting 5*s.* for hides sold, 55*s.* In 2 pipes of ale and other 'barelles' bought, 36*s.*"

Other similar entries follow, the total gross cost of the voyage amounting to 42*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*

In 1418 and 1419, Sir Hugh Luttrell was lieutenant of Harfleur. He had authority also to treat with the captains of different Norman towns that were willing to capitulate to the English.¹ The following entries occur in his accounts:—

1418. "In cleaning my lord's baselard and knife, 4½*d.*"

"In the expenses of my lady being there (at Dunster) partly at the end of June and partly in the month of July, for five weeks in all, as appears by a paper exhibited at the account, 33*s.* 5*d.*"

"In divers victuals bought for my lord and sent to him at Harflete by the hands of Richard Arnolde, in money delivered to the same Richard upon a tally, 104*l.* 13½*d.*"

"In a pipe of wine bought for the use of my lady and her mother by my lord's order, as of his gift, 49*s.* 4*d.*"

¹ Norman Roll, 6 Hen. V. part 1. 7 Hen. V. part 1. mm. 81, 79, 23*d.* mm. 15*d.*, 13*d.*, 10*d.*; part 2, mm. 41, 9;

"In the expenses.... of two prisoners (*prissonariorum*), each at 10*d.* a week for twelve weeks, 20*s.*; of one prisoner (*incarcerati*) at 10*d.*, for nineteen weeks, 15*s.* 10*d.*"

The receiver-general was on the other hand charged with 46*s.* 8*d.* "received from John Rede, pledge for William Perderiall, a Breton, in part payment of his ransom (*financie sue*)."

1419. "In 25 quarters of beans bought and sent to Arflue, as is contained in a letter of my lord dated the 23rd day of January this year, at 3½*d.* the bushel, 58*s.* 4*d.* In a pipe of salmon bought and sent thither, 4*l.*"

"In 5 quarters, 2 bushels, of beans bought and sent thither, at 3½*d.* the bushel, 12*s.* 3*d.* In 47 quarters, 4 bushels of oats bought and sent thither, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, 110*s.* 10*d.* In 1 quarter, 6 bushels of green peas bought and sent thither at 12*d.*, 14*s.*"

"In 4 casks of 'allec' (*i.e.* herrings) bought and sent thither, 60*s.*"

"In paid for the freight of 25 quarters of beans, 1 pipe of salmon, 1 pipe of 'skalpyn,' 1 pipe of green peas, to Arflue, 63*s.* In 13½ dozens of 'leynges' and 'melewell' bought, at 3*s.* the dozen, 40*s.* 6*d.* In carrying the same from Mynheade to Dunster and thence to Hampton, 46*s.* 2*d.* In 100 'hakys' bought and sent to my lord at Arflue, 30*s.*"

"In expenses incurred in the household of my lord there (at Dunster) from Sunday next before the feast of All Saints in the sixth year of King Henry the Fifth (1418) until the feast of the Assumption of St. Mary next following (August 1419), that is for forty-one weeks, three days, and then my lord was at home... 14*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*"

1420. "In the expenses of Richard Arnold travelling from Hampton to Dunster and taking with him two horses of my lord, 5*s.*"

"In carrying to Dunster certain things of my lord that were at Mynheade having come from Arflue in charge of Roger Kyng, 3*d.*"

"Paid to Roger Kyng, 'shipman', for carrying divers victuals of my lord from Pole to Harfleu this year, 11*l.*"

"In the expenses of my lord coming from Hampton on

Thursday next before Christmas (1419) and being at Dunster for a certain time and then travelling to Saunton, all reckoned by William Person, 12*s.* 11½*d.* In the expenses of the same lord at his next coming from Saunton to Dunster and being there for a certain time at the Priory, 6*s.* 1*d.*”

“In the expenses of my lord who was at Domerham, Hampton, and Portysmouth, as appears by a bill under the signet of my lord dated the 10th day of February in this the seventh year of King Henry the Fifth, 64*l.* 8*s.* In paid to the reeve of Domerham for the expenses of my lord who was there, as appears in a bill under the signet of my lord, 55*s.* 8*d.* In certain victuals bought by Robert Ponyngys, knight, for the use of my lord and sent to Arflu, as appears by an indenture dated the 7th day of April in the eighth year, under the signet of my lord and the signet of the aforesaid Robert, 10*l.* 4*s.* In twelve dozens ‘myllewell’ and ‘leyngys’ bought, and sent to Arflu at the request of my lord, at Mynheade; and they were sent by Roger Kyng, by indenture, 36*s.* In twelve ‘counnergys’ bought and sent thither by the same Roger, 8*s.*”

“This beth the parcell, of the costages that beth makid by Williham Godewyn and Richard Arnolde of Bruton aboghte diverse vitailles the wheche the forsaide Richard hath delyvered to Rogger Kyng of Mynheade, shipman, at the havin of Pole, to the use and the profitez of my lorde, Sir Hugh Lutrell, as hit is specyfied in endenters bytwixt hem ther of maked; Forst, in 18 quarteres of whete boght by Godewyn, pris the bushelez, 10*d.* 6*l.* Item in 23 quarteres, 2 bushelez, whete, pris the bushelez, 8*d.* summa, 6*l.* 4*s.* Item paied for cariage of the same from the contre to the ship 5*s.*.... Item in 10 quarteres of barly malt boght by Godewyn, pris the bushelez 10*d.* 66*s.* 8*d.* Item in 54 quarteres of barly malt, pris the bushelez 9*d.* 16*l.* 4*s.* Item in 6 bobus (oxen) pris of 103*s.* In 30 motons pris of 45*s.* Item in 2 quarteres 3 bushelez salt for the same flessch, 7*s.* 6*d.* Item in 3 pipes for the same flessch, 1 hoiggeshede for otemele and 1 barell for candelles, pris in al 4*s.* Item in 6 bushelez of otemele, price the bushelez 16*d.* 8*s.* Item in 9 dosyn pondez of candelles, 10*s.* 6*d.* In reward of the lardyner for syltyng (*i.e.* salting) and dyghtyng (*i.e.* dressing)

of al the flessch, 20*d*..... In 1 quarter 3 bushelez of cole, pris the bushelez 3½*d*, 3*s*. 3*d*. In 1 pipe for the same, 10*d*. Item payed for beryng of whete from the house of W. Waryner into the ship, 16*d*. Item in mattys and nailles boght for to make a caban in the ship for savyng of the corne and of the malt, 3*s*. 7*d*. Item in caryng of 13 dosyns of fyssh from Dunsterre to the Pole 12*s*..... This was write at Pole in Ingelonde the 20 day of July the 8 yere of the reignyng of Henry oure Kyng the 5th."

"In a pipe of ale bought for my lord, 6*d*. In carrying divers victuals, that is to say flesh, flour, oats, candles and divers other victuals from Sheftysbery to Pole, 10*s*. In carrying the fish of my lord from Mynheade to Dunsterre 4*d*."

"In delivered to my lady, by appointment of my lord, by tally, 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. In paid the same lady, of my lord's loan, to give to my lady's workmen of Saunton, by appointment of the same, 6*s*. 8*d*. In delivered to the same lady for wine bought for her use and that of my lady her mother, against a payment made by my lord for the same, 6*s*. 8*d*."

Attached to the roll of accounts from Michaelmas 1420 to Michaelmas 1421 there is the following letter :—

"Dere frende, y charge yow that ye take litill Will oure servant 20*s*. for his fee of the last yer, and yif hit so be that he compleine to yow of his monoie that y take him be spendid in my servise, that ye take him whanne he departith fro yow to come to me resonable despenses ; and this cedula signed wyth my signet sall be yowr warant. And in al manere wyse thenkyth on my stuf of fich ageyns Lentin. Writ at Harfleu the xvijjt daie of Octobre.

Hugh Lutrell, knight, lord of Dunsterre
and senescall of Normandie.

Unto Richard Arnold, oure resseviour at Dunsterre."¹

The accounts contain the following entries :—

"In paid to William called Lytelwille, my lord's servant,

¹ A facsimile of another letter from Sir Hugh Luttrell to John Luttrell, his son, and Richard Arnold, his receiver,

at Dunster, is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 53.

for his expenses at Pole and elsewhere on my lord's affairs, this year in the month of December, 10s. "

"In 54 quarters of wheat bought at Blaneфорde and Wymborne, the price of a bushel 10d., 18l. Also in 5 quarters of wheat bought at Ruysshton, the price of a bushel 8d., 26s. 8d. Also in 51 quarters of oats bought at Blanford, Wymborne and Ruysshton, the price of a bushel 4d., 6l. 16s. Also paid to William Warnere for a house hired from him, in which to place my lord's corn, at Pole, 6s. 8d. In the expenses of Richard Arnold travelling in divers places, as appears above, for buying the aforesaid corn, 10s. In planks, nails, 'mattis' and straw bought for making a granary in the ship in which to place and keep the said corn, 4s. In the carriage of the said grain 15d. Also in paid to Gervase Knyte of Pole, 'shipman,' for carrying all the aforesaid corn to Harefleu for the use of my lord, 6l. "

"Also in salmon 3s. In 61 'mullewell' and 'lynggys,' 31s. 9d. In 64 'hakys' 11s. 8d. In 49 couples of 'pullockes' 5s., bought and sent to my lord at Harefleu; the total for purchase 51s. 5d. In carrying the said fish from Mynheade to Hampton 14s. In a 'sarpler' (*i.e.* piece of canvas) bought in which to wrap up the said fish, 6d. In 'maylyngcordes' bought for the same 4d. "

"Also in a pipe of wine for my lady, who was at Saunton, bought of Roger Kyng of Mynheade, for the household of my lady, this year, 46s. 8d. "

"Paid to George, my lord's chaplain at Gyllyngham, for the expenses of my lord there on his return from London, 15d. "

In this year there is an interesting inventory of Sir Hugh Luttrell's plate and ornaments :—

"In primis, a coppe with a park.¹

A coppe with a sterr.

A coppe withoute pomel.

A coppe with a perle in the pomell.

A coppe with an egle ygylt in the pomell.

2 coppis with eglis of silvyr in the pomell.

3 hie coppis with the coverclis.

¹ A stag within a park paling seems to have been one of the badges of Richard the second. See the plate in

Archæologia, vol. xxix. p. 387. See also *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1408-1413, p. 147.

2 coppis with 2 okurlis (*i.e.* oak orles, or wreaths) of silvyr in the pomell.

2 flatte pecis with coverclis.

A vat ycoveryd.

An hie coppe ycoveryd with fetheris yplomyd (the crest of Courtenay and Luttrell).

A coppe ynamyd Bath.

A coppe ynamyd Courtenay.

6 flatte pecis withoute coverclis.

A note (*i.e.* nut).

A spice dissch.

3 eweris.

2 sponis.

And all this ygylt.

A peyr doble baceynys.

3 sengle bacynys with 3 eweris therto.

A galon potte.

2 potell pottis.

4 quart pottis.

An ewer with 10 coppis withynne hym and 3 coverclis.

A round coppe ycoveryd and 8 withynne hym.

3 grete pecis ycoveryd, and 17 rounde coppis and a tastour and an ewer for water.

A.... spone and a verke (*i.e.* fork) fore grene gyngyver and 15 flatte pecis and 3 coverlis.

4 chargeris.

2 doseyn disschis and 23 sauceris.

23 sponis of on sort and 17 sponis of a lasse sort and 3 grete saucerys with 2 coverclis, and 5 flatte saleris (*i.e.* salt-cellars) and an ymage of Synd Jon of silver and gylt, and an horne ygylt, and 4 candelstikkis of silver.

Item por le Chapell—

In primis, a litil chaleis ygylt.

A paxbred ygylt.

2 cruetis of silver.

A corperas.

A peir of vestymentis.

2 towelles.

A lytil masboke.

2 parelles for the auter and a superaltar.

"Of the whiche somme above saide my lord hathe with hym to Harflu 2 chargeris, 12 disschis, 12 sauceris of silver, 2 coppis and a ewer ygylt, an hie coppe and 8 withynne, a gret flat pece with a covercle, 7 flatte peces and on covercle, a basyn and an ewer, 11 sponis, 2 salers with a covercle and the chapell hole, 2 quart pottys, and an hie coppe with a covercle ygylt, and 6 littel sponys, and 2 candelstykyes of sylver." ¹

Part of this plate had come to Sir Hugh Luttrell from his grandmother, the Countess of Devon, and part perhaps from his uncle William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury. ² In 1415, he himself had paid no less than 54*l.* to the executors of the will of Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn for certain silver vases.

The exact date of Sir Hugh Luttrell's final return to England is not known. Richard Wydevill, however, occurs as Seneschal of Normandy in July 1422. The last few years of Sir Hugh's life were spent in retirement, probably in consequence of failing health. Some further extracts from his accounts may not be out of place here, in illustration of the history of prices. The roll of expenses of John Bacwell, steward of the household, for the year ending at Midsummer 1406, is especially interesting as recording all purchases day by day. There being at that time practically no home farm at Dunster, all provisons had to be bought, except venison, game, fruit and vegetables. According to the custom of the manor of Minehead maintained until our own time, the lord had the right to buy fish there at wholesale price:—

1405, June 28 "In 14 fowls (*pullis*), 16*d.*"

July 1. "In 4 gallons (*lagenis*) of milk, 4*d.* In butter, 7*d.*"

July 2. "In two quarters of a calf bought, 10*d.* In divers spices, 8*d.* In 12 'congres' 4*s.* of the custom of the

¹ D.C.M. I. 16.

² P.C.C. Rouse, f. 15 ; Somner's

Antiquities of Canterbury, Appendix, p. 33.

manor of Minhede. In 12 'milwelles', 3s. of the same custom."

July 15. "In two quarters of wheat (*frumenti*) bought, at 6s. 8d. the quarter, 13s. 4d."

July 17. "In 'turbut,' 5d; In a milwell, 6d; in an eel, 3d; in 'bremis' and other fresh fish bought, 14d; in 2 bushels of salt, 2s. 4d; in 3 pottles of mustard, 7½d."

July 19. "In 'saffron,' 3d."

July 26. "In a kid (*capriola*) 8d."

August 2. "In 3 'maulardes,' 6d."

August 7. "In 100 herrings (*alleg*), 16d."

August 9. "In 2 little pigs (*porcellis*) bought, 12d."

August 16. "In 4 geese bought, 10d."

August 28. "In 2 'raies' bought at Minhede, 6d."

September 3. "In a quarter of a mutton bought, 6d."

September 6. "In 8 dozen geese bought in Alliremore by Henry Baker, 22s."

September 30. "In a salmon, 7d."

October 2. "In white herrings (*alleg albis*), 17d."

October 11. "In powder of ginger and of pepper, 4d."

October 21. "In a 'haque' bought, 5d."

October 22. "In 3 'wodecokes' bought, 3d."

October 23. "In 2 salmon bought at Le Merssh 12d. In 15 live pigs bought wholesale (*in grosso*), 42s., of which 6 were sold for 20s. 4d. and 9 became bacon."

October 28. "In 200 oysters, 6d."

November 13. "In 2 oxen bought wholesale for the household, 23s. 8d."

November 25. "In 25 live muttons bought in Wales, 11s."

December 11. "In 10 sea-dogs (*canibus marinis*) bought, 10d."

December 18. "In a 'gournard' bought, 2d. In honey bought, 4d. In 12lb. of 'almondes' bought, 3s. In 12lb. of 'dates' bought, 3s."

1406. January 14. "In a 'corlue' bought, 3d. In 3 'maulardes' bought, 9d."

February 12. "In 130 'haques' bought at Bristuyt, the haque at 2½d. and 120 for 100, 31s. 3d. In 500 'scalpines' bought at 2s. 6d. the hundred, 12s. 6d. In 15 gallons of olive oil, at 12d. the gallon, 15s. In 2 measures (*copulis*) of figs and raisins, 12s."

February 21. "In a goat bought, 6*d.* In a 'teel' bought. 1*d.*"

March 7. "In fresh 'melet' bought, 1*d.*"

March 10. "In mussels (*musculis*) bought, 1*d.*"

May 14. "In 140 eggs bought, 7*d.*"

1405. July 10. "In the gift of my lord to divers fishermen of La Marssh who presented to him 'melet' and other fish, 12*d.*"

August 24. "In the gift of my lord to a fisherman who presented to him a 'porpes,' 12*d.*"¹

1420. "In 3 bushels of oats bought for the sustenance of my lord's swans, 10½*d.*"

"In a man hired to carry fish from the Master of Bruggewater to my lord's stew at Dunster, 3*s.* 9*d.* To a certain servant of the rector of Aller, likewise carrying fish, of my lord's gift, 20*d.*"

1417. "To Philip the carpenter and his fellow for cutting stakes (*paludes*) for enclosing the stews (*stagnis*) in the Hanger (park), in part payment, 18*s.* 4*d.*"²

1423. "4*s.* paid for the carriage of live fish from Wolavington to Mynheade, to stock my lord's stew (*vivario*)." ³

1406. "Five gallons of white wine bought at Brigewater to fill up a pipe of wine somewhat diminished, 3*s.* 4*d.*" ⁴

1417. "Two pipes of wine from Gascony bought for the use of my lord, 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, also in the carriage of the same wine to the Castle, 5*d.*" ⁵

1426. "In 25 gallons of red wine, 18 gallons of wine called 'bastard'..... with the carriage and costs of the same, 25*s.* 7*d.* In a pipe of wine of the 'Rein.'" ⁶

Beer cost 1½*d.* per gallon from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 1¼*d.* from Michaelmas to Christmas, and 1*d.* from Christmas to Midsummer; and thirteen gallons were reckoned as twelve. At these prices the bill for a twelvemonth ending in June 1406, came to 34*l.* 1*s.* 2¼*d.*

1405. July 3. "In 8 quarters of oats bought for the provender of the horses of my lord and his servants, at 16*d.* a quarter, 10*s.* 8*d.* In hay bought for the same horses, 2*s.*"

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

² D.C.M. i. 16.

³ D.C.M. xxxi. 8.

⁴ D.C.M. i. 16.

⁵ D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

⁶ D.C.M. xxxvii. 10.

October 9. "For a pad (*panello*) for the saddle of a horse of the carriage of the household, 10*d.*"

October 14. "In fresh grease bought for the feet of my lord's horses, 2*d.*"

October 14. "In 4 halters bought for the horses of the chariot (*chariette*), 2*d.*"

1406. June 11. "In the shoeing of the horses of the carriage and of other servants of the household, both at Wachet and at Pottesham, my lord's horses being at Cantok, 4*s.* 2*d.*"¹

1412. "To John Slugge, for a horse bought of him by my lord, 4*l.*"²

1416. "In the cost of a groom travelling from Dunster to Taunton three times for the cure of a horse of my lord there sick, 15½*d.*"

"To Robert Hylwen, a groom of my lord, for his expenses with two other grooms, and for seven horses of my lord from Dunster to London, 13*s.* 4*d.*"

"In 17 horse-shoes bought, to be put on my lord's horses, 2*s.* 10*d.* In 14 'revets' for the same 7*d.*"

"In a 'sadel housse' bought for my lord's saddle and other necessities bought for other saddles and horses, 3*s.*"

"To John Hunte, master of my lord's chariots (*curruum*) for his expenses with regard to my lord's horses and chariots, by a tally of which the counterfoil is not produced, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

1417. "In the provender of the horses of my lord and my lady for three weeks, 19*s.* 4*d.*"

"After the departure of my lord, in 2 halters bought for my lord's horses going out of Mersswode and placed in ward, 2*d.* Also in ointment bought for their feet, 2*d.* In a 'horscombe' bought 3*d.*"

"In 'canevass' for the pads (*panellis*) of the saddles and collars, 3*s.* 4½*d.* Also in 9 double girths (*cingulis*) for my lord's horses, 16*d.* Also in the woodwork (*lignis*) of 7 saddles for the carriage, 2*s.* 10*a.* Also in 20*lb.* 'flokis' for the stuffing of the same, 18*d.* Also in cords called 'teugropis' (*i.e.* traces), 8*d.* Also in divers cords bought for my lord's

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

² D.C.M. i. 14.

chariot, 14*d.* Also in cords for the whip, 2*d.* Also in cords for driving (*regendis*) the horses of the chariot, 2*d.* Also in 2 pair of 'steroppis' for the saddles of the carriage and 7 'polys' and 3 'reynes' and 8 'contre single boucles' for the aforesaid saddles of the carriage, 4*s.* Also in 'tak-kys' and nails (*clavis*) for the chariot, 1*s.* 5*d.*"

"Also in the repair of two 'ronges' for the chariot, 2*d.* Also in 'teughookys,' 7*d.* Also in 7 'teugys,' 12*d.* Also in 7 pads (*panelles*) for 7 'semesadils,' at 8*d.* apiece 3*s.* 4*d.* Also in a 'strake' (*i.e.* rim) and 'dowlys' for the wheels of the chariot weighing 12*lb.* of iron, 16*d.* Also in 'vertgrese' for a horse of my lord that was sick, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Also in white wine for the same, 1*d.*"

1421. "To John Taunton, keeper of my lord's horses, for oats and horse-bread (*pane equino*) bought for my lord's horses before the feast of St. Denys in the ninth year, 17*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*"

1409. "To Thomas Skynner for the rent of a house in le Bailly in which to put my lord's dogs, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

1417. "In expenses incurred in taking four couples of coneyes and birds (*volucrum*) sent to John Merchaunt of Taunton at the purification of his wife, 2*d.*"¹

1405. October. 29. "In fresh mutton and beef for my lord's 'hawkes,' 17*d.* In 4 chickens bought for the same, 6*d.*"

1405. July 17. "In fur and thread for repairing my lord's gown (*toga*), 6*d.*"

October 12. "In linen cloth and thread for two pair of my lord's hose, 12*d.*"

"For the repair of my lord's wallets (*besagiorum*), 2*d.*"

1406. February 11. "In two 'slices' of linen thread bought by my lady, 3*s.* 6*d.* And in the weaving (*textura*) of the same, 4*d.*"

April 10. "In two yards of linen cloth and thread bought by the hands of Michael Strecche for my lord's 'doublettes,' 18*d.*"²

1420. "In a pair of gloves bought for my lord, 6*d.*"

1421. "To Laurence Taillor of London for making two

¹ D.C.M. I. 16.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

gowns (*juparum*) of my lord of 'felewet,' (*i.e.* velvet), 13s. 4d."

1405. July 17. "In shoes, hose, shirts, and breeches (*braccis*) delivered to William Russell, my lord's 'henxteman' (*i.e.* page), 20d."

August 25. "For the making of two 'dowbletes' for William Russel and Robert the keeper of my lord's horses, together with breeches and spurs bought for them by the hands of John Hunt, 2s. 6d."

September 11. "In shoes for the groom of the bakery, 4d."

October 12. "To Hugh Taillor for shirts and hose bought by him for three grooms of the stable, 17d."

October 26. "Delivered to John Hunte, my lord's chamberlain, for buying spices and other things necessary for the grooms of the stable, by his order, 16d."

1406. April 10. "For hose, shoes, shirts and breeches necessary and bought for the grooms of the bakery, the kitchen, and the stable, 3s. 8d."

1421. "In 4 yards of russet cloth bought and delivered to Thomas Pury, reeve of Estkantok, at 18d. the yard, 6s."

The number of retainers living at Dunster Castle seems to have varied from time to time. When Sir Hugh Luttrell first took up his abode there, he had a steward of the household at 5*l.* a year, a chamberlain at 1*l.* 6s. 8d., a cook at 1*l.* 13s. 4d., and fifteen other men who received wages ranging from 13s. 4d., up to 2*l.* Lady Luttrell had a damsel in attendance on her, and there was one laundress for the whole establishment at 6s. 8d. A constable of the Castle is frequently mentioned, but he seems to have lived in the town. Year after year, Sir Hugh Luttrell made an allowance to Dan John Buryton, one of the monks of Dunster, possibly in connexion with masses celebrated in St. Stephen's Chapel or in the Priory Church. The following payments are recorded in 1406:—

June 1. "For the expenses of the horses of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Baunton and Sir Hugh son of the Earl (of Devon), for two nights and a day, and in the expenses of their varlet sent before them with 'veneison,' 4s. 9d."

June 7. "Paid to William Brit sent from London and returning to London, for his expenses in returning, 10s."

Lady Elizabeth Harington stayed at the Castle for some months in 1424 with her retinue, and paid handsomely for board. In the same year, Margaret Luttrell, Sir Hugh's daughter-in-law, paid 5s. for herself and her gentlewoman for one week. Master John Odeland and John Scolemaystre, who were there on business for eighteen weeks and ten weeks respectively, got their meals free.

In 1421, Sir Hugh paid 5*l.* to a steward of his lands, 3*l.* to a receiver general, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to an auditor of accounts, and 1*l.* apiece to an attorney and a clerk, but it is not likely that all these professional persons resided constantly at Dunster. The following payments are recorded in the accounts:—

1406. February 12. "In three dozen of 'countours' bought for the exchequer (*scaccario*), 9d." ¹

1421. "In a bag bought to hold the roll of accounts 3d."

1423. "In certain red (*sanguinio*) and green cloth bought for the livery of the staff (*familie*) of my lord's household this year, . . . 4*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*"

1424. "In five dozens of blue (*blodii*) cloth bought at Benehangre for the livery of the staff of my lord's household this year, with the expenses of carrying the purchases, 103*s.* 4*d.* In five pairs of embroidered wallets (*manticarum braud'*) for my lord's five gentlemen for their livery . . . 16*s.* And in seven pairs of embroidered wallets for my lord's yeomen (*valentis*) for their livery . . . 15*s.* And in two embroidered wallets for two grooms, this year, for their livery . . . 2*s.* 2*d.*" ²

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 10.

1426. "In green and red (*rubeo*) cloth, that is to say for sixty-six yards of each colour, bought for the livery of four gentlemen, eleven yeomen (*valeitorum*) and four grooms (*garcionum*) who were in the household. . 7*l.* 11*s.* 6½*d.* including the expenses and carriage of the same." ¹

1405. November 6. "In an earthen pot in which to put white salt, 1½*d.*"

November 20. "In a piece of sackcloth of which were made 5 sacks in the bakery, price 3*s.* 8*d.*"

December 16. "In 3 bowls (*bolis*) bought for the kitchen. 10*d.* In 2 cups (*ciphis*) bought for the buttery, 12*d.*"

December 18. "In four dozens of tin vases (*vasorum stanneorum*) bought at Brigewater, 72*s.* In the expenses of a man bringing the said vases to Dunster, 7*d.* In 6 ells (*ulnis*) of 'cannevas' bought for the kitchen, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

1406. January 22. "In 4 wooden trenchers (*discis*) bought for the kitchen, 4*d.*"

February 4. "In a wooden pot (*olla*) for the pantry, 1*d.*"

March 10. "In 4 wooden 'tancardes' bought to spare the pots (*ollis*) made of leather, 12*d.*"

January 5. "In a needle and 'pakthreed' for sewing the sacks of the bakery, 1*d.*"

February 11. "To John Corbet, smith, for a 'wexpan,' two 'wexirens,' a 'wexknyfe,' an 'iren rake,' a 'pikeys,' a 'matok,' thirty-six 'hoques' for hanging bacon in the kitchen, etc. 6*s.* 8*d.*"

1405. July 17. "In 1*lb.* of wax for making candles in the chapel, 7*d.*"

August 21. "In 12*lb.* of Paris candles, 2*s.*"

November 20. "In a bundle of 'macchernes' (*i.e.* wicks) for making Paris candles, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

December 18. "In 11½ 'ronnes' of wick thread (*fili lichenii*) bought for torches, 6*s.* 1*d.* In the costs of a man bringing the same (etc.) from Brigewater to Dunster, 2*s.* 2*d.*" ²

Sir Hugh Luttrell died on the 24th of March 1428, aged about sixty-four. ³ The following entries occur in the accounts for that year :—

¹ D.C.M. I. 16.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

³ Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. VI. no. 32.

"Paid to John Bien of Shaftesbury by the hands of William Godewyn for spices bought of him for the burial of the said Hugh, 19 August, 44s. 1d. "

"To Thomas Wylhams for white cloth bought of him at the burial of the said Hugh, 6l. 4s. Also paid to John Slug for providing oats against the burial of the said Hugh, 11s. Also paid to William Stone for white and black cloth bought of him, together with the making of sixteen gowns (*juparum*) and the like number of capes (*capicium*) for sixteen poor people at the time of the burial of the said Hugh, 74s. "

Two years later, there is the following entry :—

"Paid to Sir Robert Kent, chaplain, by order of my lord, to distribute among the chaplains who here on the day of the anniversary of Hugh Luttrell, knight, on the last day of March, 2s. 9d. "

In 1432, we find :—

"Paid to William Stone of Dunster for six gallons, one pottle and one pint of white wine bought of him on the day of the anniversary of Sir Hugh Luttrell, knight, by order of my lady, paying 6d a gallon, 3s. 4d. " ¹

A monument in memory of Sir Hugh Luttrell and his wife seems to have been erected, or commenced, on the north side of the chancel of Dunster church. Both their effigies, made of alabaster and relieved with gold, have been sadly mutilated in the course of centuries, and it is very doubtful whether they occupy their original position. They now lie under a canopy carved in stone in an arched opening between the chancel and the little projecting sacristy, which was almost rebuilt in the nineteenth century. The shields below them, likewise carved in stone, bear no arms ; there is no inscription ; and the whole structure, except the figures, may be an Easter Sepulchre of the time of Henry the Seventh.

¹ D.C.M. I 17.

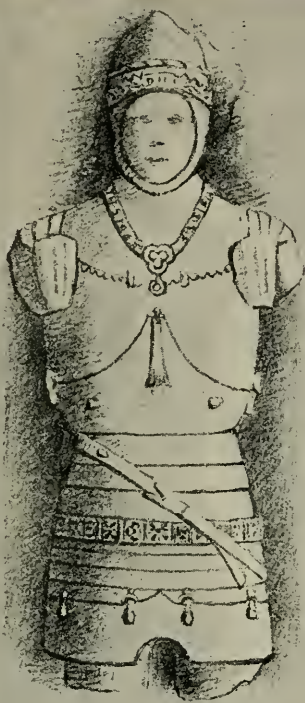
It might have been expected that the name of the Great Seneschal of Normandy, the first Luttrell lord of Dunster, the builder of part of the Castle, would have been so well known on the spot that there could be no question as to the fact that he and his wife were the originals of the two alabaster figures. Yet every writer down to 1879 who has mentioned them has described them as representing Sir John de Mohun and his wife. This deep-rooted error appears to have arisen out of an exaggerated respect for a hesitating opinion of the old antiquary, John Leland, who, in his account of Dunster Church, says :—

“ In the north part of this was buried under an arche by the high altare one of the Luterelles, or, as I rather thynke, of the Moions, for he hath a garland about his helmet, and so were lordes of old tymes usid to be buried. ” ¹

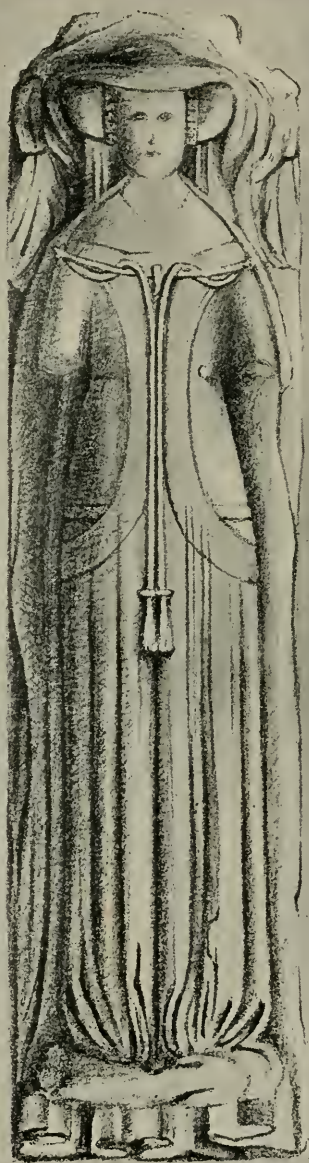
Although the arms and legs of the knight have alike disappeared, his costume, the ‘ orle,’ or wreath, round his basinet, the ‘ demi-placcates ’ covering his breast, the sword-belt hanging diagonally across his body, the six overlapping ‘ taces,’ or plates, round his waist and hips, and the ‘ tuiles ’ that protect his thighs, show clearly that he lived in the first part of the fifteenth century. Furthermore the official collar of SS. round his neck marks him out as a person attached to the service of a Lancastrian king. No lord of Dunster except Sir Hugh Luttrell answers to this description.

Sir Hugh Luttrell’s wife was Catherine daughter of Sir John Beaumont of Devonshire, and relict of John Strecche. Her first marriage seems to have taken place at Christmas 1376, and although her husband died without issue in the lifetime of his

¹ *Itinerary* (1907), p. 166.



EFFIGIES
 of
 SIR HUGH LUTTRELL,
 AND HIS WIFE.
In Dunster Church.
 A.D. 1428-1435.



father, Sir John Strecche, she obtained a life interest in the manors of Wolston, in Devonshire, and Sampford Arundel, in Somerset, which she was able to enjoy with her second husband¹. Several notices of her in the Dunster accounts have been quoted already, and a few more may be given here :—

1406. February 11. "Paid to brother Gilbert Ley for mending illuminating, covering and binding a missal, a breviary (*portai*'), and a French book, by order of my lady 6s. 8d."

"On Easter Day. In the offerings of my lady and her daughters, 4d. And in the gift of my lord to J. a Carmelite friar of Bristol, begging, 12d."

"In the offerings of my lady on Whitsunday, 2d."

June 11. "To my lady going on pilgrimage to Cleeve, 6d."²

During the long absences of Sir Hugh Luttrell abroad, his wife seems to have spent a good deal of her time with her mother, Lady Beaumont, at Saunton in Devonshire. After his death, the manors of Minehead and East Quantockshead, with the advowson of the church at the latter place, were assigned to her by way of dower, but she appears to have compounded for an annuity of 100*l* out of her husband's estates. She died on the 28th of August 1435, and was presumably buried at Dunster.³ Her effigy in alabaster lies on the north side of the chancel there beside that of Sir Hugh Luttrell. She is represented in a sideless dress, through the openings of which may be seen the girdle of her kirtle, and over all a mantle fastened in front by cords which pass through open *fermeules*, or loops; a long veil hangs down from the top of her head. Her feet rest on an animal now headless.

¹ Inq. post mortem, 14 Hen. VI. no. 30.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

³ Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. VI. no. 83; 14 Hen. VI. no. 30.

Sir Hugh Luttrell had issue two sons and four daughters :—

John, his heir.

William, who is mentioned in the accounts for 1416.

He may perhaps be identified with the William Luttrell who was rector of Birch Parva in Essex from 1441 to 1443.¹

Margaret. In July 1402, a marriage was arranged between John Cotes, esquire, and Margaret daughter of Sir Hugh Luttrell. The former undertook within three years to provide land to the yearly value of 20*l.*, to be settled on himself and his wife and the heirs of their bodies. Sir Hugh on his side undertook to provide 100 marks within six months of such settlement, or 50 marks if his daughter should have died in the meanwhile. He also covenanted to supply the young couple, their two servants and their two henchmen (*chivalers*), with suitable meat and drink for the first year after the marriage, and to give his daughter a sum of 20*l.* '*pour sa chambre*'.² The accounts for 1416 record a payment for "the expenses of divers servants of my lord going over to Warwyckshyre with Margaret, my lord's daughter, by appointment of my lord, 28*s.* 9*d.*"

Elizabeth. In March 1406, an arrangement was made that William Harleston, esquire, should marry Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Luttrell as soon as convenient after Easter. Sir Hugh undertook to enfeoff them of all his lands at Debenham in Suffolk, with remainder to the heirs of their bodies, and ultimate reversion to himself and his heirs. William Harleston at the same time under-

¹ Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. ii. p.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 44.

took to enfeof his intended wife of lands to the yearly value of 40 marks, and to enter into a bond to Sir Hugh for 125 marks, repayable in case of failure of issue.¹ Easter fell on the 19th of April in 1406. The following entry occurs in the accounts of Sir Hugh Luttrell for that year.

“On the eve of St. Mark (24 April), in paid for the expenses of John Bacwell sent by order of my lord to Brigewater for John Somer, a friar, to come to Dunsterre (*propter Johannem Somer fratrem Dunsterre veniendum*) because of the marriage to be made (*faciendi*) between a daughter of my lord and William Harleston, 2s.”²

Bacwell was the domestic steward at Dunster Castle. In the accounts for 1423, there is a note that the expenses were greater than usual “because Elizabeth Harleston, my lord’s daughter, was in the aforesaid household with five men and seven horses at the costs and expenses of the said household for seventeen weeks.”

After the death of her husband, this lady married John Stratton, esquire, of Norfolk, by whom she left a daughter, Elizabeth.³

Anne. In April 1408, an arrangement was made that William Godwyn the younger should marry Anne daughter of Sir Hugh Luttrell about Midsummer. William Godwyn the elder undertook to settle upon them land to the yearly value of 20*l.* subject to his own life interest. William Godwyn the younger undertook to provide a like amount, while Sir Hugh undertook to pay 100 marks in instalments.⁴ The name of William Godwyn occurs frequently in the manuscripts at

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 6, 45, 47.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

³ Inq. post mortem, 21 Edw. IV. no.

100; cf. Blomfield’s *History of Norfolk*, vol. viii. p. 287.

⁴ D.C.M. xxxvii, 48.

Dunster, where he held various responsible offices under the Luttrells.

Joan. There are three notices of her in the accounts of the receiver-general of her brother, Sir John Luttrell :—

1428. "Paid to Robert Draper, by the hands of Thomas Kynggestone, for the banquet of my lady Joan Luttrell, a nun of Shaftesbury, on the 27th day of July, by order of my lord, 40s."

"To the same lord, on the 30th day of July, when the same lord rode towards Shaftesbury to the banquet of my lady Joan Luttrell, his sister, to be held there, 106s. 8d."

1430. "Paid to Robert Draper for the expenses of my lady Joan Luttrell, and her sister, a nun of Shaftesbury, riding thence to Dunster and there on the 19th day of July, 12s."¹

The nun had apparently been allowed to revisit her old home in order to see her brother on his deathbed.

JOHN LUTTRELL, son and heir of Sir Hugh, was born about the year 1394.² He was presumably the person of that name who accompanied Sir Hugh to Normandy in 1417. During the next few years, however, he was generally in West Somerset, living either at Dunster or at Carhampton, and looking after the affairs of his absent father. The accounts for the year ending at Michaelmas 1420 contain the following entries :—

"Paid of the reward made to William Franceys, my lord's esquire, by John, my lord's son, Thomas Beaumont, and others of my lord's council, who were at Dunster on the 2nd day of September, and were there on my lord's business, 20s."

"In the expenses of John, my lord's son, Thomas Beaumont, Hugh Cary, and others of my lord's council who were at Dunster in the month of August on my lord's

¹ D.C.M. i. 17.

² Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. VI. no. 23

business, 9s. 5½*d.* In the expenses of the horses of Thomas Beaumont at the same time, 2s. 4*d.* In the expenses of the horses of Hugh Cary at the same time, 2s. 9*d.*"

There are frequent mentions of John Luttrell in the accounts of the period, and several of them show clearly that he was in charge of the building operations carried on at Dunster Castle in his father's lifetime.

On succeeding to the inheritance in 1428, one of his first duties was to arrange for inquisitions with regard to his father's lands in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Wiltshire and Suffolk. The following letter to him relates to this business:—

"My ryght worshipfull and with all myne herte welbelovyd cosyn, y recomaunde me to yow, beseching yow that ye woll be remembrid of the litell money that I dude paie by the hondis of Robert Colyngborne whiche ys toward me in your name, as for the speed of your *diem clausit extremum* in the counte of Wiltes, and by advys of your cervaunt whiche laborid for hit in your name at that tyme, which drawith in all to the summe of iiij*l.* ix*s.* jd., whiche y praie yow that ye do sende me in as hasty tyme as ye godely may, considering my nede ate this present hoecure that I have for my goyng obir see. And the holy Trinite yow evir conserve to his plesaunce and your ryght greet joye and confort,

your cosyne,
John Stourton, knygzght."

The accounts for that year record payments.—

"To John Stourton, knight, by the hands of Henry Helyer, a yeoman (*vadletti*) of William Wadham, for taking a certain inquisition in the county of Wiltes concerning the death of Hugh Luttrell, knight, as by letter of the said John Stourton addressed to the said John Luttrell, 4*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* And paid to Henry Helyer for his reward because of his pains, by order of John Luttrell, 20*d.*"¹

¹ D.C.M. I. 16.

"To John Gregory, escheator of our lord the King in the county of Somerset, on the 10th of June, for the assessed portion of the lands and tenements which were of the said Hugh Luttrell in the aforesaid country, 12*l.*"¹

Altogether, the sheriff of Somerset accounted to the Exchequer for 34*l.* 13*s.* 1¼*d.* for the issues of the estate for sixty-one days from the death of Sir Hugh Luttrell until the assignment of dower to the widow, and for 6*s.* 3*d.* for the issues of two thirds of it for one further day before the delivery to the heir, by royal order.² John Luttrell had also to pay to the Crown 44*l.* 8*s.* 10¾*d.* being two thirds of 100 marks, by way of relief on succession to two thirds of a barony.³

The following payments are recorded between April and September 1428 :—

"To Thomas Touker of Wayssford for a barge bought of John Foughler of Ireland for my lord's use, as for a quarter of the same barge, 20*l.*"

"To John Mathu for a 'burthyn' and a half of salt fish bought of him for John of Stourton the younger and William Carent, by order of my lord, 16*s.* To John Foughler of Mynhede, by the hands of the vicar of Mynhede, for wine bought for my lord's household at Karampton in the previous year, by order of my lord, 66*s.* 8*d.*"⁴

John Luttrell had apparently been living at Marshwood in the parish of Carhampton until the death of his father. It is curious to note that throughout the first five months of his residence at Dunster he had guests at the Castle who paid for their respective commons (*pro communibus suis*). Lady Luttrell, his mother, paid 10*l.* 5*s.* 2½*d.* for the board of herself and her servants. Sir William Palton, a wealthy

¹ D.C.M. I. 16.

³ Memoranda Roll.

² Escheators' Enrolled Accounts, 29, m. 110.

⁴ D.C.M. I. 16.

landowner, paid 17*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* for the board of himself and his household, and William Cornu only 5*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* for the like. None of these paying guests brought any children with them, but Palton and Cornu were married men who had houses elsewhere in Somerset. William Cornu's wife had survived two husbands, Sir John Malet, eldest son of Sir Baldwin Malet of Enmore, and John Luttrell of Carhampton, constable of Dunster Castle, who had died in 1421 or 1422¹. She was usually known by the name of Dame Joan Malet.

The following payments made between Michaelmas 1429 and Michaelmas 1430, were charged against Sir John Luttrell of Dunster :—

"To Robert Couke for buying silk at London for my lady Margaret Luttrell on the 13th day of February, 6*s.* 8*d.*"

"To Thomas Merchaunt for buying victuals for my lord's barge, by order of my lord, 20*s.*"

"To Thomas Couke for the provender of the horses of Walter Portman who was at Dunster three times to confer with my lord on his matter between him and the Duchess of York, 3*s.* 6½*d.*"

"To the aforesaid Thomas Couke for the provender of the horses of my lady Elizabeth Courtenay who was at Dunsterre for a day and a night, 7*s.* 11*d.*"

"In four hundred 'bukhurnes' bought at Exeter for the Bishop of Bath and Wells, at 17*d.* the hundred, 5*s.* 8*d.*"

"To William Wherever of Whachet for weaving twenty-four yards of cloth, 2*s.*"²

¹ Some of the documents at Dunster are careful to distinguish this John Luttrell from his namesake and contemporary 'the son of my lord.' (*e. g.* xviii. 2.) He may probably be identified with 'John Luttrell son of Richard Luttrell' who is mentioned in 1403 (D.C.M. i. 14), but he can hardly have been son of the Richard Luttrell noticed at the end of Chapter II. A certain

Joan Crakeham, relict of John Crakeham, who had property at Northcote in the parish of Inworthy, co. Devon, describes herself, in 1475, as daughter and heiress of John Luttrell. (D.C.M. xxxvii. 60.) It is, however, clear that John Luttrell had no issue by this marriage with the wealthy Malet widow. (D.C.M. xvii. 1.)

² D.C.M. i. 17.

The following payments are recorded in the household accounts for the same period ;—

"In 6 pipes, one 'hoggeshed,' 35 gallons (*lagenis*) 3 quarts, one 'pynt' (of white and red wine) bought for the expenses of the said household, for the year, 15*l.* 7*d.* "

"In 5124 gallons of good and of second ale bought. . . 26*l.* 23½*d.* "

"In 7 pounds of pepper bought for the expenses of the said household this year, 7*s.* And in 1 pound 2 ounces of saffron (*croci*) bought for the expenses of the said household this year, 10*s.* 4*d.* And in half a pound 'saundres' bought for the store (*conserva*) 8*d.* And in 30 pounds of almonds (*amigdelarum*) bought for the store, 7*s.* 6*d.* And in 28 pounds of 'ryse' bought for the store, 3*s.* 8*d.* and in 28 pounds of 'roysons' bought for the store, 3*s.* 8*d.* And in 2 pounds of wax for the store, 12*d.* 'In a 'barell' of 'allec' bought, beyond one 'barrell' received from the reeve of Mynhed coming to my lord from 'wayfes' chattels there, this year, 9*s.* 10*d.* And in 100 red 'allec' bought for the expenses of the said household this year, 18*d.* And in a cask (*cade*) of 'sprottes' bought for the store this year, 2*s.* 4*d.* . . . And in 70 'hakys,' with the carriage of the same, 9*s.* 8*d.* And in 72 'stok fyssh' bought for the store, with the carriage of the same, this year, 12*s.* 4*d.* And in 678 'myllewell' and 'lenges' bought for the store by my lord's order at Mynhed this year, 8*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* And in 53 'congres' sea-salted (*mersaultz*) bought for the store beyond twenty that remained over, 18*s.* 8*d.* And in a 'barell' of 'stor-geon' bought for the store this year, 8*s.* 6*d.* And in 3 gallons of oil bought for the expenses of the said household this year, 5*s.* " ¹

John Luttrell describes himself as 'esquire' in June 1429, and as 'knight' in March following.² He survived his father by a little more than two years and died on the 30th of June 1430.³ It would appear that he was buried at the Augustinian Priory

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 11.

² Court of Wards and Liveries.

Deeds and Evidences, box 2.

³ Inq. post mortem, 9. Hen. VI. no. 51.

of Bruton, of which he was the patron. There are certainly no traces of any monument to his memory at Dunster.

In the accounts for 1430, a payment is recorded:—

“To divers men for divers necessities and the chapel (*capell*) on the day of the burial of John Luttrell, esquire, 12s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.”

In the accounts for the following year, there are further payments :—

“To Robert Drapere for divers expenses incurred for the anniversary of Sir John Luttrell, knight, by order of my lady, at Bruton, as in wax and other things bought for the same, as appears by a bill exhibited before my lady Margaret Luttrell on the 6th day of September in the eighth (*rectius* ninth) year, 14s. 11d. And paid for divers expenses made with regard to holding the anniversary of Sir John Luttrell, knight, at Bruton, on the 6th day of August in the ninth year of King Henry the Sixth, as appears by a bill exhibited at the audit of this account and attached to this account, 33s. 3d.”

The details are as follows :—

“Bruton. Expenses incurred there by Robert Draper for holding the anniversary of Sir John Luttrell, knight, there on the 6th day of August in the ninth year of King Henry the Sixth.”

“In primis in six pounds of wax bought for making thereof five round candles (*cereis*), at 5d. a pound, 2s. 6d. In wicks (*lichinis*) bought for the same, 1d. In making of the same, 1d. In four pounds of wax bought, as in four ‘torchis’ hired from the sacristan of the church there, paying 5d. a pound, 20d. In a gift to four poor men for holding the said ‘torchis’ at the obsequies and at the mass, to each of them 4d., 16d. In a gift to the beadsman (*oratori*) for proclaiming the anniversary in the town, 1d. In offerings, 2d. In bread bought as well for the Prior and the Convent as for others who came to the obsequies, 15d. In fourteen gallons (*lagenis*) of good ale bought for the same, 2s. 4d.

In one gallon of ale bought for the Prior there, 8*d.* In the distribution made to the Prior and Convent there, that is to say to the Prior, 40*d.* and to the fifteen canons, 12*d.* to each, 15*s.* Item, to two secular priests, 12*d.* Item, to two clerks, 4*d.* Item, to six poor folk, 3*d.* Item, for ringing the knell (*pro classico pulsando*), 8*d.* Item, paid to Thomas Sartrye, late sacristan of the Priory of Bruton, for five pounds of wax bought of him, with the making, on the day of my lord's anniversary, at 6*d.* the pound, 2*s.* 6*d.* Sum total 33*s.* 3*d.*"¹

Sir John Luttrell married, in or before 1422, Margaret daughter of Sir John Tuchet, Lord Tuchet or Audley, the owner of Nether Stowey Castle.² By her he had issue two sons:—

John, who predeceased him.³

James, his successor, an infant at the time of his death.

After the death of Sir John Luttrell, Margaret the widow had dower assigned to her by the escheator of Somerset and Dorset.

The following entries occur in her accounts:—

"Paid to Walter Paunsefote, escheator of our lord the King, by the hands of Walter Portman, being here for assignment of dower to my lady Margaret Luttrell, together with a reward made to W. Bouchell his clerk, by my lady's order, 53*s.* 4*d.* And in the expenses of the said escheator of our lord the King, of Walter Portman, of William Cloutesham, and others of my lady's council, together with the expenses of twelve jurors who were at the same place for the assignment of dower, together with the expenses of the said escheator by the way in going and returning, with a reward made to the said escheator's servant, 17*s.* 10½*d.*"

¹ D.C.M. i. 17.

² D.C.M. xxiv. 6. Settlement of the manor of Kilton. In some pedigrees, she is called daughter of James, Lord Audley, but as this nobleman was not

born before 1398, he cannot have been her father.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1429-1436* p. 86.

A third of the Luttrell estates having been recently assigned to Dame Catherine, relict of Sir Hugh, Dame Margaret obtained a third of the remaining two thirds. Although it has been generally held that a widow could not have dower in the *caput*, or head-place, of a barony, it is certain that this Lady Luttrell received in this respect a third of Dunster Castle, comprising the new gatehouse, the older gateway adjoining, and land on the Castle Tor.¹ She does not, however, appear to have lived there. When she came thither in the first year of her widowhood, it was to take part in an archery match with some of the neighbours. The following entry occurs in the accounts for the year ending in September 1431 :—

“In the expenses of my lady Margaret Lutrell and others coming with her on Sunday the first day of July, who were at Dunsterre to shoot (*ad sagittandum*) with Thomas Bratton and others, 2*s.* 5*d.*”

The same account contains also the following entries :—

“In five yards of ‘fustyan’ bought in the market-place (*foro*) of Dunsterre for a double gown of my lady, 2*s.* 11*d.* And in a quarter of a yard of ‘tarterys’ bought for the said gown, 10*d.*”

“In two yards of linen cloth called ‘Braban’ bought for James, my lady’s son, 14*d.* And in a yard and a half of russet cloth bought of William Stone for the said James, 9*d.*”

“Paid to Joan Noryce, my lady’s nurse, for her wages in arrear, by the hands of William Percare, chaplain, of Wales, and William Warderoppe, 6*s.* 8*d.* In six ‘douseynys’ of white cloth bought for the livery of my lady at divers prices this year, 37*s.* In ten ‘douseynys’ of white cloth woven for the said livery, this year, of Robert Northam, 5*s.* In fulling the said ten ‘douseyns,’ paying 4*d.* ‘per doseyne,’ 3*s.* 4*d.* In dyeing all the aforesaid cloth, together with a piece containing twenty yards, to a black colour, by John Dyer, by the view of William Warderoppe, paying 12*d.* ‘per

¹ Inq. post mortem, 9 Hen. VI. no. 51.

doseyne,' 17s. 6d. And paid to Thomas Touker of Clyve for shearing all the aforesaid cloth, 4s. And paid to John Dyer for dyeing a bed-cover, 'tapytes, curteynes, costerys, bankerys' and 'guysshenys' (*i.e.* cushions) both for my lady's hall and for the chamber and the chapel at Karampton, 7s." ¹

The accounts of the reeve of Carhampton Barton for this year show the distribution of the rabbits taken at the warren by the parker of Dunster Hanger. Some were given by order of Lady Luttrell to Lady Elizabeth Harington, to Dame Joan Malet, to Thomas Copleston, and to Thomas Bratton already mentioned. ²

The following payments are recorded between September 1431 and March 1432 :—

"In the expenses of William Bonvyle, knight, Edward Seynt Jon, Thomas Bratton, John Lauerance, Walter Portman, and part of the household of my lady Margaret Lutrell, who were at Taunton with thirty-six horses, from Monday the 10th day of December until the Wednesday next following after dinner, for a certain love-day (*die amoris*) between my lady Catherine Lutrell of the one part and my lady Margaret Lutrell of the other part, together with rewards made to the cook of the aforesaid William Bonvyle, knight, and other servants who were then there, 4*l.* 15*d.*"

"And paid to John Lauerance who was at Taunton for the aforesaid day, of the council of my said lady Margaret Luttrell, by assent of Walter Portman one of the council of my said lady Margaret, 13*s.* 4*d.*"

"And in the expenses of Robert Ryvers sent to London by my lady Margaret Luttrell, to confer both with the Bishop of Bath and Walter Portman about the said love day and about the payment there of the farm of Dunsterre in part, to wit that of the month of November, and to do other business there of my lady, in going and staying there and returning, for three weeks and four days, 33*s.* 10*d.*"

"To William Wardopere, by order of my lady, to distribute to priests for the soul of John Lutrell, knight, on the 17th day of January, 2*d.*"

¹ D.C.M. I. 17.

² D.C.M. XVIII. 3.

In three months between Michaelmas and Christmas, the steward of the household at Carhampton, that is to say at Marshwood, bought 246 gallons of good ale from divers tenants at Dunster at the rate of $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ per gallon and 619 gallons of second ale at $1d.$ The consumption of pigeons was also considerable, the number in one year being 632, of which 124 came from the dovecot in the 'barnecourt' at Dunster, 504 were bought from the reeve of East Quantockshead, and 4 were presented. The reeve of Woolavington was given $4d.$ as a reward for the capture of a stray swan, and was paid $10s. 8d.$ for great and small eels supplied by him in the lifetime of Sir John Luttrell.

Dame Margaret Luttrell's expenses were at one time larger than her income, and she had difficulty in coming to a settlement with her receiver-general, Robert Ryvers. In his account for the six months ending in March 1432, he credited the following to her :—

"The same Robert has received of the same Margaret, as in silver vases bought of her, $20l.$ And the same has received of her, as in silver cups (*ciphis*) bought of the same Margaret, $7l. 5s.$ And the same Robert has received of the same Margaret, as in a silver pot (*olla*) bought of her, $58s. 9d.$ And the same Robert has received of the same Margaret, as in a white bed of half 'worstede' with other clothes (*vestibus*) bought of her and received in part payment of his aforesaid excess, $33s. 4d.$ "

Even after this, she owed him more than $90l.$ ¹ Shortly before the close of the account, she had married a second husband named Robert Coker, without obtaining the royal licence which was then necessary for the widow of a tenant in chief. The marriage of course remained valid, but a pardon to

¹ D.C.M. i. 17; xxxvii. 12.

the offending parties was only given on payment to the Crown of the then very considerable fine of 40*l*.¹ According to the common practice of the time, Lady Luttrell retained the surname and rank of her first husband. She died on the 1st of June 1438.² After her death, Robert Coker was charged with having committed waste in two thirds of the Castle of Dunster and in the manor of Carhampton.³

JAMES LUTTRELL, son and heir of Sir John Luttrell, was three or four years of age at the time of his father's death in July 1430, and accordingly became a ward of the Crown. Within a few months, however, the keeping of two thirds of Sir John's lands was committed to John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, a close friend of the Luttrell family, Sir Humphrey Stafford, his brother, and Sir Philip Courtenay, a cousin of the heir.⁴

The following payment is recorded in 1431 :—

“ In the expenses of my lady Margaret Luttrell riding with eight horses to Hoke (in Dorset) to confer with Humphrey Stafford, in going and returning, for four days, 12*s*. 10½*d*. ”

In July 1433, the King sold to Humphrey, Earl of Stafford for 400 marks, the right of tendering in marriage to James Luttrell a lady of suitable rank.⁵ There is reason, however, to believe that the Earl shortly made over this right to Courtenay. At any rate it is certain that Courtenay aimed at concentrating in his own hands the divided estates of the Luttrells. At various dates in the years 1437 and

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1429-1436*, p. 188.

p. 574.

² Inq. post mortem. 17 Hen. VI. no. 14. The original draft of this document has been preserved; D.C.M. 1. 20.

⁴ Escheators' Enrolled Accounts, 31. m. 59.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1436-1441*,

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1429-1436*, p. 224.

1439, he obtained a demise of the manor of Minehead at a yearly rent of 100 marks, afterwards reduced by 40 l , a fresh demise of two thirds of Sir John Luttrell's lands at a yearly rent of 100 l , and a demise of the lands lately held by Dame Margaret Luttrell, at a yearly rent fixed by the Lord Treasurer at 83 l . He also occurs as the chief feoffee of the advowson of the church of East Quantockshead. In 1445, he applied for an abatement of his rent, on the score that, although James Luttrell had been his ward for a long time, and the royal grants had been made for his own advantage, he was deriving nothing from them, the actual yearly value of the estates being no more than the 183 l . for which he was liable. His rent was accordingly reduced by 40 marks.¹

In July 1447, at the request of John Stafford, now Archbishop of Canterbury and Humphrey Stafford, now Duke of Buckingham, the King promised that James Luttrell should receive possession of his estates at Michaelmas without proving that he was of full age or formally suing out livery of them.² In February 1449, James Luttrell obtained royal licence to convey the castle and borough of Dunster, the manors of Minehead, Carhampton, and Kilton and the hundred of Carhampton to feoffees, in order that they should be settled on himself and the heirs of his body, with remainder to his 'cousin,' Richard Luttrell and the heirs of his body and ultimate remainder to his own heirs general.³ A settlement to this effect was shortly made.⁴ East Quantockshead and other property of James Luttrell stood on a differ-

¹ D.C.M. I. 19; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1436-1441, p. 241; 1441-1446, p. 336; 27 Hen. VI. part 3. m. 1; Weaver's *Somerset Incumbents*, p. 423.

² Patent Rolls, 25 Hen. VI. part. 2.

m. 20; 27 Hen. VI. part 3, m. 1.

³ *Ibid.*; D.C.M. I. 24.

⁴ D.C.M. I. 23. Some erasures and interlineations on this document occur also on the original letters patent.

ent footing, not being held of the king in chief.

In 1450, the Bishop at Exeter issued a licence for a marriage to be celebrated in the private chapel of Powderham Castle between James Luttrell and Elizabeth daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay, his late guardian.¹ A large part of the Luttrell estate was settled on her in jointure, some two years later.²

On the death of Richard Luttrell without lawful issue, James Luttrell obtained some land at Kentsford near Watchet, as an escheat to the Honour of Dunster, Richard having been a bastard, and also certain other lands at Iveton and elsewhere, which had been settled on him in tail with remainder to the head of the family.³ He got into controversy, however, about the executorship, or administration, with Alexander Hody, who was one of his own feoffees. All that we know about the matter is derived from a bill of complaint by Hody's wife. She therein states that James Luttrell sent a man to her to ask where her husband was to be found, and that she, suspecting no deceit, told him where he would be for the next three days, and that James Luttrell then took one of Hody's servants "and putte hym in his castell of Dunster by the space of a nyghte, so that the seyde servaunt shuld not make knowliche to the seyde Alisaunder of the unfeythfull disposission of the seyde Jamys." The story proceeds:—

"In the mornyng thereapon, the seyde Jamys with the nombir of xxxv persones and moo, with bowys beyng bente and arowys in ther hondys by hym unlawfully gaderyd, wente to the house of Thomas Bratton, squyer, fadir in lawe to the seyde Alisaunder, where and atte which tyme she

¹ Register of Bishop Lacy quoted in Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, vol. i. p. 28.

² Inq. post mortem, 1 Edward IV. no. 43.

³ *Ibid.*



ARMS OF SIR JAMES LUTTRELL
ON THE LUTTRELL CARPET,
COTEHELE.

saide her husbonde would be, and there sowght hym, purposyng to have murderyd and sleyne the seyde Alisaunder.

“Item, the seyde Jamys and his servaunts to the nombir of xxiiij^{te} persones, arrayyd with dobelettes of defence, palettes, bowys, arrowys, gleyvys, and speris [went] to Ca. . . . , and ther John Toker, servaunt to the seyde Alisaunder, bete and woundyd, so that the seyde John was in dispeyre of his lyfe.

“Item, the seyde Jamys with his servaunts and othir to the nombir of xliiiij^{te} persones and moo, of grete malice forthought purposyng to murdyr and slee the seyde Alisaunder, entryd the castell of Taunton and ther the constabillarye of the same, and all the dorys ther brake and entrid, serching after the seyde Alisaunder, and vij sponys of silver of the seyde Alisaunder and v ivery komys and other godis of the seyde Alisaunder toke and bare awaye, and apon the wyfe of the seyde Alisaunder asaute made, bete, and with here daggers manassyd to slee, and so would have do ner, by grace of God, one of ther felishipp lette hit, and Water Peyntore, servaunt to the seyde Alisaunder, cowardly nye to the dethe smote, and apon Sir Robert, preste to the seyde Alisaunder, asaute made and hym by the here to the grounde pluckyd, betyng hym with the pomellis of ther swerdis.”

“Item, the seyde Alisaunder askyth of the seyde Jamys a c. marke in money of the dette of Richard Luttrell, whos administrator of godis and catall the seyde Jamys ys.”

“Item he askyth of the seyde Jamys xvijs. and vjd. remeynyng unpayyd for pottes of silver and gilte, for a gretter summe of moneye by the seyde Alisaunder to him sold.”¹

It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that some of the foregoing allegations, such as those about the bows and the deadly peril of John Toker, were purely fictitious, introduced for the purpose of bringing the controversy within the cognisance of a court which otherwise would have had no jurisdiction in the matter. Some compromise seems to have been made

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 16.

in February 1458, when Alexander Hody gave a general release from all personal actions to James Luttrell, Simon Milbourn and John Loty, jointly and severally.¹

The dispute between Luttrell and Hody was personal and non-political, for they were both ardent supporters of the House of Lancaster. James Luttrell fought against the Duke of York at Wakefield at the end of December 1460, and was knighted by the Duke of Somerset on the field of battle.² Seven weeks later, he again served under the victorious banner of Queen Margaret at the second battle of St. Albans, but he there received a wound of which he died on the fifth day.³ He left issue :—

Alexander, who died before 1481.

Hugh, his eventual heir.

Jane, who married George Stewkley.⁴

A daughter or daughters unnamed.

Very shortly before his death, James Luttrell charged some of his lands in Suffolk and Devonshire, and others which he had acquired in Somerset, with a payment of 50*l.* a year to John Loty, upon trust that the money should accumulate in a chest to be sealed by him and Elizabeth Luttrell, in order to provide marriage portions for the younger children.⁵

The triumph of the House of York was disastrous to the Luttrells, who had been attached to the House of Lancaster ever since the days of John of Gaunt. Within a week of his accession to the throne, Edward the Fourth ordered the sheriff and the escheator in

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 59.

² Shaw's *Knights of England*, vol. ii. p. 12.

³ *Wars of the English in France*. (R.S.), vol. ii. p. 776 ; Inq. post mortem,

1 Edw. IV. no. 43.

⁴ *Visitations of Somerset* (ed. Weaver), p. 43.

⁵ Inq. post mortem, 1 Edw. IV. no. 43 ; D.C.M. xxxvii. 15.

Somerset and Dorset to seize all the possessions of the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Earls of Devon, Wilts and Northumberland, Sir James Luttrell and Sir Alexander Hody, in those counties.¹ Two months later, a somewhat wider commission was issued to Sir William Herbert, Thomas Herbert, John Herbert and Hugh Huntley, to take possession of the lands of the Earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury and Sir James Luttrell, who are specifically described as rebels.² For some unknown reason, this commission was repeated in August.³ In the meanwhile, the king had granted to Sir William Bourchier the wardship and marriage of Alexander Luttrell, the infant heir, as if it had fallen to the Crown in the ordinary course.⁴ The Parliament, however, which sat in November 1461 passed a sweeping ordinance against all the chief supporters of Henry the Sixth. Sir James Luttrell was therein named amongst those who "with grete despite and cruell violence, horrible and unmanly tyrannye" murdered the late Duke of York at Wakefield, and who were consequently to "stand and be convycted and attainted of high treason, and forfeit to the King and his heires all the castles, maners" and other lands of which they were or had been possessed.⁵ Lady Luttrell had, in the earlier months of her widowhood, been tacitly allowed to receive the issues of the lands settled on her in jointure,⁶ and when the king's officers took possession of these lands, she lodged a complaint against them, protesting that she was a loyal subject of the reigning monarch. A commission

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1461-1467*,
p. 32.

² *Ibid.* p. 30.

³ *Ibid.* p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 19.

⁵ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. v. pp.
477, 479.

⁶ D.C.M. 1. 27.

of enquiry was accordingly issued in September 1462, but it does not appear that she got much satisfaction.¹

In June 1463, the King granted to Sir William Herbert, Baron Herbert, and the heirs of his body, the honour, castle, manor and borough of Dunster, the manors of Minehead and Carhampton, the hundred of Carhampton, the manors of Kilton, East Quantockshead, and Iveton, and lands at Kentsford, Watchet, Exton, Vexford, Rixen, Stogumber, Wibwell, Huish by Highbridge, and Cothelston, in Somersetshire, the manors of Chilton and Blancombe in Devonshire, the manors of Stonehall and Woodhall, in Suffolk, and all other lands and profits to which Sir James Luttrell had been entitled in possession or in reversion. The fortunate grantee was to receive all the issues as from the 1st of March 1461, that is to say the third day before the accession of the king.² This grant was renewed and enlarged in March 1465, when some lands at Little Carhampton and Radlet were mentioned by name, and the date was set back to the 30th of December 1460, as named in the retrospective attainder of Sir James Luttrell.³

Honours and offices of profit were showered upon the new owner of Dunster. In September 1466, a marriage was made, or arranged, at Windsor between his eldest son William, who was only five and a half years of age, and Mary Woodville, sister of the Queen of Edward the Fourth. William of Worcester relates that, on that occasion, the king not only dubbed the boy a knight but also created him 'Lord of Dunster,' to the secret displeasure of the great Earl of Warwick, and other magnates.⁴ There is, indeed, no official

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461-1467*,
p. 231.

² *Ibid.* p. 286.

³ *Ibid.* p. 366.

⁴ *Wars of the English in France*, vol.
ii. p. 786.

record of any such creation, but it is worthy of remark that the younger William Herbert is styled 'Lord of Dunster' in some royal letters patent issued during the lifetime of his father.¹ Lord Herbert, the father, was, in September 1468, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Pembroke. In the July following, he was defeated and captured in a skirmish at Edgcote near Banbury. The Lancastrians, against whom he had been so active in previous years, took him to Northampton and there beheaded him, with his brother, Sir Richard Herbert.² The inquisitions taken after his death make no mention of lands in Somerset, Devon, or Suffolk, although it is stated elsewhere that he died seised of the forfeited inheritance of the Luttrells.³ On the other hand, it is not necessary to suppose that either of the Earls of Pembroke ever lived at Dunster Castle. Their main possessions lay on the north side of the Bristol Channel.

William Herbert, son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke, being still a minor at the time of his father's execution, became a ward of the Crown. When the care of his lands was entrusted to his mother, in recompense of her dower, the property of the late Sir James Luttrell in Somerset and Devon was specifically excepted. The King, moreover, appointed Philip Beaumont, esquire, to be constable of Dunster Castle and steward of all the lordships and lands that went with it.⁴ So again, in 1472, the King appointed a certain John Gogh to be bailiff of Dunster and keeper of Marshwood Park.⁵ Earlier in the same year, he had committed to his brother George, Duke of

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*,
p. 132.

² *Chronicles of the White Rose*, pp. 24.
III.

³ Inq. post mortem, 9 & 10 Edw. IV.

no. 21; 15 Edw. IV. no. 57.

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*,
pp. 174, 204.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 344.

Clarence, Peter Courtenay, the king's secretary, Sir William Courtenay, Sir Philip Courtenay, and Sir Thomas Fulford, knights, and John Courtenay, esquire, the keeping of the manors of Minehead, Kilton, Iveton and East Quantockshead, with the advowson of this last, and lands at Exton, Vexford, Rixen and Stogumber, during the minority of the young Earl of Pembroke, free from rent.¹ The object of this grant is not stated in the letters patent, but it becomes tolerably clear when we find that the four Courtenays named in them were the brothers of Lady Luttrell, and that Sir Thomas Fulford was her brother-in-law. Furthermore, the manors and lands so granted were precisely those which she would have had in jointure if her husband had not been attainted. Lastly, she is mentioned elsewhere as the farmer of the manor of Minehead during the minority of the Earl of Pembroke.² We may perhaps ascribe her success in this matter to the powerful influence of the Duke of Clarence.

In December of the same year, the Earl of Pembroke's mother obtained a grant of the keeping of the honour, castle, manor and lordship of Dunster, and of other possessions of the late Sir James Luttrell, except those mentioned above, at a yearly rent of 90*l*.³ As the young Earl advanced in years, the prospects of Lady Luttrell became steadily worse. It was certain that, on attaining his majority, he would eject her, the grant to her trustees being specifically limited to the period of his nonage. In 1475, therefore, she formally laid claim to the manors and lands that had been settled on her during the life

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*, bundle 67, no. 176.
p. 330.

² Early Chancery Proceedings, ³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*
p. 364.

time of Sir James Luttrell, pleading a clause in the act of attainder to the effect that the wives of the persons attainted should, if born within the realm, enjoy their own hereditaments. She stated that she was a native of Exeter, and asked that an inquisition in favour of the Herbert family should be set aside.¹ Inasmuch as a commission of enquiry was appointed, and a Somerset jury endorsed her statements, it is probable that her suit was successful.²

In the proceedings of 1475, Lady Luttrell is described as a widow. She had, in point of fact, had two husbands. Sir James Luttrell had, as we have seen, been mortally wounded at the second battle of St. Albans and attainted. After his death, she had married his cousin, Sir Humphrey Audley, brother of Lord Audley, but he in turn was taken prisoner at the battle of Tewkesbury and beheaded.³ Even in those distracted times of civil war, there could not have been many widows who had, within eleven years, lost two husbands fighting on behalf of the unfortunate House of Lancaster. She eventually married a third husband, Thomas Malet of Enmore in Somerset, but, according to common medieval custom, she retained the surname of Luttrell until her death in the reign of Henry the Seventh. It was under that name that she, in 1476, stood god-mother to Richard, the short-lived son of her patron, George, Duke of Clarence.⁴ Her feelings at the christening must have been mixed, for it was performed at Tewkesbury, the very place where her late husband had lost his head.

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls; 1467-1477*, p. 522.

² *Inq. post mortem*, 15 Edw. IV. no. 57.

³ D.C.M. xxxv. 24; *Chronicles of*

the White Rose, p. 127; *Paston Letters*, vol. iii. p. 9; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. vi. p. 128.

⁴ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 64.

Alexander Luttrell, the eldest son of Sir James and Elizabeth, died young, in obscurity. On the death of William Harleston, son of William Harleston by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Hugh Luttrell, in 1480, it was found that, under the entail of 1404, a moiety of the manor of Debenham, in Suffolk, called Blodhall, should pass to his cousin Hugh Luttrell, son and heir of Sir James.¹ Notwithstanding the act of attainder, the King eventually allowed Hugh Luttrell to receive this small portion of his inheritance as a grant from the Crown.²

In 1479, Edward the Fourth, wishing to confer the Earldom of Pembroke on his own son, took it away from William Herbert the younger, giving to him in its stead the Earldom of Huntingdon. This young nobleman had been allowed to enter upon his lands before he was fifteen years of age, and he enjoyed Dunster, Carhampton, and other Luttrell estates until the end of the reign of Richard the Third.

¹ Inq. post mortem, 20 Edw. IV. no. 100.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*, p. 566.



STANDARD BEARER
FROM THE LUTTRELL PSALTER.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER

1485—1551.

The signal victory of the Lancastrian party on the field of Bosworth, in August 1485, revived the hopes of all those who had been ejected by the Yorkists. Henry the Seventh had not been on the throne many weeks before some of them were reinstated. Among them HUGH LUTTRELL, son and heir of Sir James Luttrell, presented a petition to the King in Parliament setting forth that his father had been attainted "for the true faith and allegiaunce which he owid unto the right famous prince of moost blessed memory, then his souveraine lord, Henry late King of England the sixth," and praying that the act of attainder should be repealed, and consequent letters patent made void. His petition was readily granted and the agents of the Earl of Huntingdon made way for the rightful lord of Dunster.¹

Hugh Luttrell, however, had serious trouble with his mother, Dame Elizabeth, and her third husband, Thomas Malet, with regard to the lands which she claimed to hold in jointure, and some jewels, plate, and household stuff, valued at 800 marks, which Sir James Luttrell had bequeathed to his eldest son. At last, after legal proceedings had been begun, a com-

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. vi. p. 297; D.C.M. i. 26.

promise was effected whereby Lady Luttrell retained the manor of East Quantockshead, and Hugh undertook to pay her 80 marks a year for the manor of Minehead during her life. She and her husband then delivered to him "two basons of silver, two ewers, two gilte cuppes covered standyng, two pottes of silver and gilt with a pot of silver, two saltes with one cover, three bolles with one cover, a chafyng disshe of silver, two doseyn spones, a chaleys, a masse boke, a peir of vestementes," and a list of the other goods that should pass to him at her death.¹

Lady Luttrell lived some years longer, and at her death, in 1493, was buried before the high altar in Dunster Church. An incised stone slab, which has since been removed to the south aisle of the chancel, shows her attired in a sideless dress faced with ermine, and a mantle lined with ermine, the neck bare, and the head covered with a veil falling below the shoulders. Two angels support a pillow, and there is the usual dog at the feet. The inscription around it runs :—

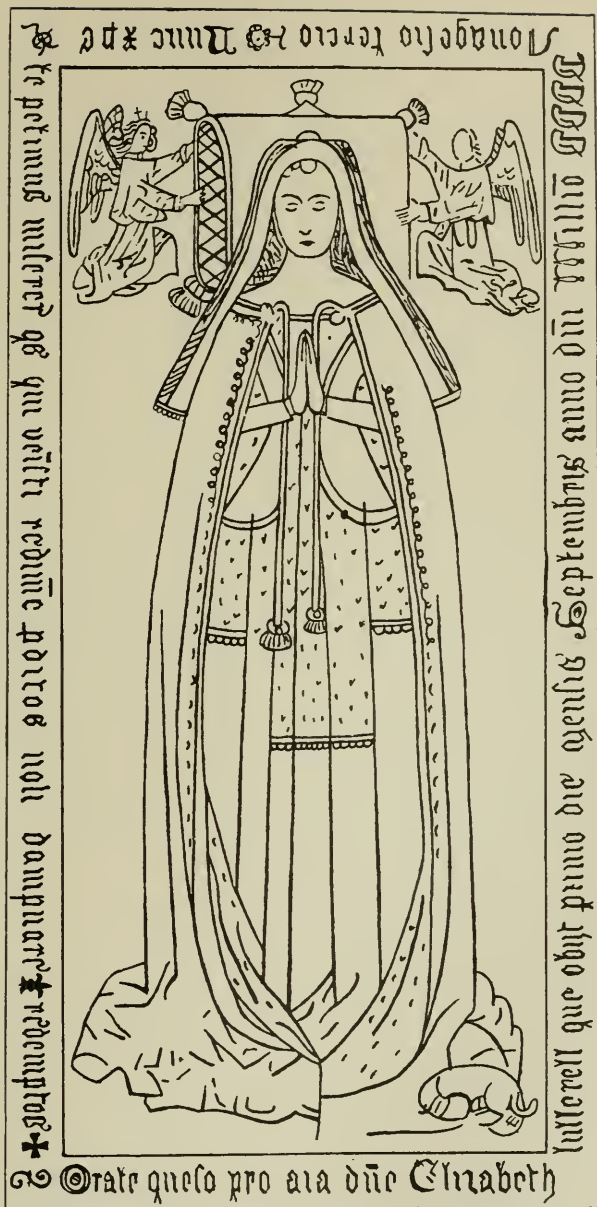
"Orate queso pro aīa dñe Elizabeth Lutterell que obiit primo die mensis Septembris anno dñi millio cccc nonagesio tercio. Nunc Xre te petimus miserer' q̃s qui veĩsti redĩme p̃ditos noli dampnare redemptos."

This may be translated :—

"Pray, I beseech you, for the soul of Dame Elizabeth Lutterell, who died on the first day of the month of September in the year of our Lord 1493. Now, O Christ, we pray thee have mercy, and do not condemn the redeemed whom thou camest to redeem when lost."

The second part of the inscription, as abbreviated,

¹ D.C.M. xxviii. 18 ; xxxvii. 61.



ONE F² H. Maxwell Lyte del.

DAME ELIZABETH LUTTRELL.

was apparently intended to make two hexameter lines, though at the cost of several false quantities. It occurs also, some thirty years later, on an alabaster tomb at Oxford, where the standard of Latin scholarship should have been higher than it was in West Somerset.¹

Hugh Luttrell of Dunster was created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry the Seventh, in November 1487.² A few days later, he received from his uncle Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Winchester, a grant of the office of Master of Poundsford Park, near Taunton, with an annuity of 10*l.* for life.³ He was Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset for a year beginning in November 1488.⁴ Nine years later, he took the field against Perkin Warbeck under the Duke of Buckingham.⁵ When the Princess Catherine of Arragon came to England in 1501, in order to marry the Prince of Wales, Sir Hugh Luttrell was one of the seven knights and gentlemen of Somerset who were selected to escort her from Crewkerne to Sherborne.⁶ In 1513, we find him serving in the royal navy in the ship of Leonard Fiscaballi.⁷

There is a mention of him in a letter from Giles, Lord Daubeney, Chamberlain of the Household, who died in 1508, to Sir John Trevelyan, with regard to the royal forest of Exmoor :—

“I am enformed that of late a litle grugge is fallen bitwene my brother, Sir Hugh Luttrell, and you, for that

¹ Maclean's *History of Pembroke College*, p. 25.

² Shaw's *Knights of England*, vol. i. p. 142.

³ D.C.M. xxxvii. 17

⁴ *List of Sheriffs*, p. 124.

⁵ Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 784. Mr. E. C. Batten's idea that Sir Hugh

Luttrell was fined for assisting the rebels seems to be founded on a misapprehension. *Proceedings of Somerset Archaeological Society*, vol. xxv. pp. 71, 74.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, Richard III and Henry VII.* vol. i. p. 406.

⁷ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 652.

he hunted of late in the outewoods of the said forest, and therupon a couple of hounds were taken up by servants of yours from his servants. After that, cousyn, inasmoche as my said brother Luttrell is a boderer (borderer) of the said forest, and that ye know he hath married my sister, and the man whom I doo love tenderly, my mynde is and desire unto you that ye shuld have an yghe unto hym above all others in those parties. And that when it shall like hym to kyll a dere or to hunt for his disporte, that ye suffer hym soo to doe, I pray you as hertily as I can. Writen at Grenewich the xx daie of Feverer.

“And I pray you, cousyn, let my said broder take his disporte, and if he list let hym kyll one dere in somer and a nother in wynter hereafter.”¹

The allusion to Sir Hugh Luttrell as a borderer of Exmoor is of course in respect of his property in the extreme west of Somerset. There is, however, reason to believe that he resided less at Dunster than at East Quantockshead, where he appears to have built a considerable part of the existing manor-house. To the Herberts the Dunster estate had been merely a source of revenue, and it is quite likely that they had suffered the older parts of the Castle to fall out of repair.

At Minehead, Sir Hugh Luttrell built a small pier and enlarged the harbour considerably, to the great benefit of the little town.² In the reign of Henry the Seventh he was the Admiral there, and, on at least one occasion, he presided over a court of Admiralty for the decision of a maritime case.³

Sir Hugh Luttrell was married twice. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Hill of Houndston, near Yeovil, a military tenant of the honour of Dunster, by Alice his wife, relict of William Daubeny of Barrington.⁴ This Robert Hill was buried in Dunster

¹ *Trevelyan Papers*, vol. i. p. 120.

² Hancock's *Minehead*, p. 288.

³ *Proceedings of Somerset Archaeo-*

logical Society, vol. xxxv. p. 50.

⁴ Weaver's *Visitations of Somerset*, p. 32; *Trevelyan Papers*, vol. i. p. 120.

Church, but his arms are no longer to be seen there.¹

Sir Hugh Luttrell's second wife was Walthean daughter of—Yard of Devonshire, and relict of Walter Yorke of Exeter and John Drewe.² Her third marriage must have taken place in or before January 1508, when Sir Hugh Luttrell settled the manor of East Quantockshead on her in jointure. By subsequent arrangements, she also obtained from him the manors of Kilton, Iveton and Vexford for her life.³ In consideration of some services or payments unspecified, the abbot and convent of Athelney, in 1510, admitted Sir Hugh Luttrell and his wife to their fraternity and sisterhood, promising to them all the benefits of their common prayers, and undertaking to celebrate mass for their souls after death.⁴

Sir Hugh Luttrell had issue by his first wife four children :—

Andrew, his heir.

John, sometimes called John Luttrell 'the elder' in contradistinction to his nephew of the same name.

He was the ancestor of the Luttrells of Kentsbury and Spaxton.

Elizabeth. She married Sir William Carent of Toomer, in Somerset, who died in 1564.⁵

Eleanor. She married Roger Yorke, Serjeant at Law, son of her step-mother Dame Walthean Luttrell.⁶

It is uncertain whether Sir Hugh left any issue by his second wife. Nothing is known as to the parentage of a certain George Luttrell who is mentioned in 1580 as a 'servant' of Dame Margaret Luttrell.

¹ Harl. MS. 1559, f. 235.

² Leland's *Itinerary*, p. 166; Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 319, nos. 36-38.

³ Inq. post mortem, E. II. 909; D.C.M. II. 5.

⁴ D.C.M. xxxvii. 19.

⁵ Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. iv. p. 112.

⁶ D.C.M. xxiii. 22; Heralds' College MS. C. 22. f. 393.

He had a son John, baptized at East Quantockshead in 1571. Ten years later, he was married there to Cecily Smyth. He died in 1593, and she survived until 1613.

Sir Hugh Luttrell died on the 1st of February 1521, and was buried at East Quantockshead.

ANDREW LUTTRELL succeeded. He had been married some years. On the 31st of March 1514, Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster entered into an agreement with Sir Thomas Wyndham of Felbrigg in Norfolk, the first provision of which runs as follows :—

“ Androw Luttrell, sonn and heire apparant of the saied Sir Hugh, by the grace of God, shall mary and take to his wiefe Margaret one of the doughters of the saied Sir Thomas, or any other of the doughters of the said Sir Thomas suche as the saied Androwe shall best lieke byfore the Wonyysdaie next after Lowe Soundaie next commynge after the date of this presentes, after the cosdom and lawe of holye churche, if the said Margaret or such of her sisters as the said Androwe shall best lieke therunto will agree and the lawe of holye churche it wyll permytt and suffer. ”

The time specified was certainly not over-long, as there were only four weeks between the date of the agreement and the last day allowed for the solemnization of the marriage. It was nevertheless stipulated that if Andrew Luttrell should die during that brief interval, his next brother, John, should, in his stead, marry one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Wyndham before Whitsuntide. Another clause runs :—

“ The said Sir Hugh, at his proper costes and charges, shall apparell the said Androwe or John that shall happen to mary with one of the doughters of the said Sir Thomas at the saied daie of maryage as shalbe convenyent for his degree. ”

Sir Thomas Wyndham on his side undertook to "apparell" his daughter for the wedding, and to pay one half of the charges of the dinner and other expenses connected therewith. The bride's portion, —seven hundred marks (466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), was to be paid to Sir Hugh Luttrell in instalments, he settling 40*l.* a year on the young couple and giving a guarantee that his son should eventually inherit the bulk of his landed property. As both the parties to the intended marriage were minors, the bride's father was to have "the rule and governance" of them and their property until the husband should come of age.¹

A legal settlement in pursuance of this agreement was made in May, shortly after the marriage of Andrew and Margaret on the 22nd of April.² The bride belonged to a family which afterwards acquired considerable property near Dunster. In 1537, she received from her mother's sister, Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, a legacy of a tablet of gold.³

It was perhaps natural that Andrew Luttrell should quarrel with his step-mother, Dame Walthean, who kept him out of part of his inheritance. In reply to a bill filed against her in the Star Chamber, she stated that after the death of her husband, Andrew Luttrell "in Lent last past, of his wilfull and cruell mynde, without any cause resonable, took her goodes and catalles, not levyng her dische, pott, nother panne," and that she and her children and servants had "stood in daily perell of their lyves," until she went up to London, leaving only a certain Lewis Griffyth and an "impotent, power" almsman, eighty years of age, to look after her interests at East Quantocks-head. She professed, moreover, to have instructed her

¹ D.C.M. II. 3.

³ Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 676.

² Inq. post mortem, E. II. 943, no. 5.

agent to offer no resistance if Andrew Luttrell or any one on his behalf should attempt to eject him from the manor house. In such an event, she intended to have her remedy at law. A serious affray, however, occurred in her absence. Two versions of it have been preserved.

One of Andrew Luttrell's servants, John Gay by name, complained to the King's Council that, on the 7th of June, 1521, Lewis Griffyth and several other evil-disposed persons assaulted him at East Quantockshead, shot eleven arrows at him, one of which pierced him through the left arm, while others "grevosly strake hym in dyvers places of hys body, so that and yff socoure of trees hadde nott byn, they hadde kyllled and murdered hym oute of hand." He also said that he had received "a grette wonde in the shilder" with a forest bill.

Griffyth's account of the matter is much more detailed. He being in Quantock Park, "with his bowe and his shaffes under his gyrdell, going abought to recover a dere, being hurte, in a place called Blakwell," met Gay and two other men. Gay was armed with "a longe peked staff" seven feet long, and his companions carried great axes. They said that they had come, by command of their master, to take sixty trees for posts, but he told them that this could not be done without warrant from Dame Walthean, who held the manor for her life. Furthermore, he, "to fere the said John Gay and his felowes, shot an arrowe wyde of them." When Gay asked him "to holde his hand," he "took his cap in his hand and desyered and tenderly prayed them to departe." This they did, but they "wente into a place withyn the said towne and there harnyssed them, and called to them two idell persons," and so returned, "two



ARMS OF SIR ANDREW LUTTRELL.
ON THE LUTTRELL CARPET,
COTEHELE.

of them havynge forest billes, the said Gay havynge the said longe pyked staff, a hanger and a shorte dager, and the residewe of them havynge grete axes in their hands." By hewing "an olde lying tree" within sound of the manor-house, they made Griffyth believe that they were felling trees, and when he came out, they attacked him and "a chylde" of sixteen who was with him. Gay may have been hurt in the fight, but Griffyth was knocked down and injured with a forest bill on the head and hand. Finally he and the boy were taken three miles to the house of Lord Fitzwarren, who caused them to be "fetered" and put for two hours or more in his porter's lodge, whence they were released only on payment of a fee to the porter.¹

It is impossible to say whether Gay's version or Griffyth's was the more truthful.

Andrew Luttrell was knighted in or before 1527.² He was appointed Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset in November 1528.³ Some five years later, he was a servitor at the coronation of Anne Boleyn.⁴ There is a somewhat mysterious letter from him to Thomas Cromwell dated at Dunster on the 16th of July 1537:—

"Acordynge [to the] request made unto me by your late letters yn the favowr of Mons. Pynto for the transportynge of a sertyn lady owt of Portyngale hither, I have, as muche as yn me ys, furnyshyd your sayd desyre, in suche sorte that she ys here aryvyd yn safete wyth her gooddes, wyche is extemyd to be of noo small summe. Nevertheles, for as myche that y have percevyd, as well by conveans of her sayd goodes by nyght, as also the receyving of her person and company certynge dystance from the common porte that y was apoynted to, that suche secrett thyngkes wrought yn

¹ Star Chamber Proceedings, vol. xvi. ff. 20-22.

² *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. ii. p. 264.

³ *List of Sheriffs*, p. 124; D.C.M. xxxvii. 21.

⁴ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. vi. no. 562.

her sayd conveance, that nether my shipe nor maryners herafter can use there trade of merchandise thither without danger, etc. ”

He therefore asks for the powerful minister’s advice and assistance “ yff any trobell shall chanyce unto me or myne. ”¹ Some explanation of the letter may be found in the fact that Henry the Eighth was neutral in the war between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First. A few weeks later, another Portuguese lady of rank and wealth, wishing to go to Flanders, thought it prudent to sail in the first instance to an English port, thus avoiding the northern coast of France. She too had the assistance of the same Pinto, a Portuguese merchant.²

Sir Andrew Luttrell obtained some spiritual benefits by sanctioning an arrangement under which the impoverished Priory of Flitcham, in Norfolk, in which he had some hereditary rights, should be definitely united to the mother house of Walsingham. The Prior and Convent of the larger and more famous establishment, in 1530, admitted him and his wife to their fraternity, making them partakers in all their prayers. They undertook to provide an anniversary mass for their souls after death, and to maintain a canon who should celebrate daily on their behalf at Flitcham. Lastly, they promised to supply them with board and lodging for two days and nights every year if they should wish to go to Walsingham, a noted place for pilgrimages.³

In a will dated the 14th of April 1538, Sir Andrew Luttrell describes himself as ‘ of the parish of East Quantock, ’ the manor-house there being his usual residence. He also directed that his body

¹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*
vol. xii. no. 265.

² *Ibid.* nos. 520, 757.

³ D.C.M. xxxvii. 20, 22.

should be buried in the chancel of the church there, before the picture of Our Lady at the north end of the high altar, under the tomb and window to be made there. To the church he bequeathed 5*l.* for the purchase of a chalice, and to the high altar 20*s.* for tithes overlooked. He also left 20*s.* to the mother church of St. Andrew at Wells, and 40*s.* to the Carthusians in London for two solemn obits with two dirges. The Friars Minors of Bridgewater were to receive 20*s.* a year for three years for solemn obits for his soul, the souls of his parents and the soul of a certain Hugh Trot. Thirty masses were to be said by as many priests on the day of his burial, and money was to be distributed to the poor on that occasion and on its first anniversary. For a whole year, moreover, five priests were to sing mass daily for his soul, with special prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, each priest being paid 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly and provided with the necessary singing-bread, wine, candles, vestments and books.

The part of Sir Andrew Luttrell's will dealing with secular matters specifies legacies to a godson and to household servants. A silver cup was bequeathed to the all-powerful minister, Thomas, Lord Cromwell, so that he should be "good lord" to the testator's wife and children. To his eldest son, John Luttrell, he left all his raiment and his bows and arrows, and to his wife, Lady Margaret, all the rest of his goods, upon condition that she should surrender them if she should marry again. Each of his younger children was to have a fortune of 400 marks, the sons at the age of twenty-one and the daughters at eighteen.¹

Sir Andrew Luttrell died a few weeks after the

date of his will and was buried at East Quantocks-head.¹ The tomb erected there in compliance with his instructions has an arched recess, with late Gothic cresting and panelling. On the lower part there are three shields:—Luttrell; Luttrell impaling Hill; and Luttrell impaling Wyndham. There are no effigies on it and the slab has an inscription:—

"Here lyeth Hugh Luttrell knyght wythe departyd 1522
the fyrst day of February.

Here lieth Andro Luttrell knyght his sone wythe departyd
the yere of our lord God mccccxxviij, the iiij day of
May. On whos soulys Ihu have mercy."

The letters are badly cut and the year of Sir Hugh Luttrell's death is given incorrectly.²

Dame Margaret Luttrell lived to a great age, surviving her husband by more than forty years. In 1543, she was registered as the owner of a ship of 100 tons belonging to the port of Minehead, but at that time in London.³ Having a considerable jointure, she was a powerful personage. As will be seen hereafter, she invested some of her savings in the purchase of the Priory of Dunster, after the dissolution of the monasteries, thereby consolidating the property of her successors. At her death in 1580, she was buried beside her husband and her father-in-law at East Quantockshead.⁴

Sir Andrew Luttrell left issue four sons and four daughters:—

John, his heir.

¹ Inq. post mortem, E. II. 178, no. 16.

² It is clear from the inquisition taken after the death of Sir Hugh that he died in 1520/1, not 1521/2.

³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xviii, part 1, no. 547.

⁴ 1580, July 7. "Died the right worshipful Dame Margaret Luttrell and was buried the 8th of August following." East Quantockshead Register at Dunster Castle.

Thomas, successor to his brother.

Nicholas, of Honibere, ancestor of the Luttrells of Hartland Abbey in Devonshire, and of the Luttrells of Saunton Court in the same county.¹

Andrew, named in the will of his brother, Sir John. Margaret. She married Peter Edgcumbe of Mount Edgcumbe in Devonshire, who died in 1607.² As executors and residuary legatees under the will of her mother, they had long suits in Chancery against George Luttrell of Dunster Castle.³ It was to Margaret Edgcumbe that Dame Margaret Luttrell specifically bequeathed her best and largest carpet, the magnificent example of heraldic embroidery which now hangs at Cothele.⁴

Honor. She married Edward Barrow, at East Quantockshead on the 26th of January 1561.

Cecily. She married Richard Rogers of Bryanston, in Dorset, who was knighted some years after her death, which occurred in 1566.⁵

Elizabeth. She married firstly Richard Malet of Currypool in Charlinch. After his death in 1551, she married secondly Sir George Speke, K.B. of Whitelackington, and died in or before 1561.⁶

JOHN LUTTRELL, eldest son and heir of Sir Andrew, was under age at the time of his father's death. Cromwell, not forgetful of the silver cup, at once took him under his protection, and his name was entered in a list of gentlemen suitable to be taken into the King's service.⁷ He was of course a ward of the Crown, and, in June 1540, on the fall of his former

¹ See Appendix.

² The curious epitaph of Peter Edgcumbe at Maker is given in Collins's *Peerage*, vol. v. p. 329.

³ Chancery Proceedings, Ee. 2. no. 49; Ee. 5. no. 6.

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ D.C.M. xxxviii. 78.

⁶ *Somerset Medicval Wills* (ed. Weaver), vol. iii. p. 130.

⁷ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xiii. part ii. no. 1184.

patron, his wardship and marriage were given, or sold, to Sir William Kingston.¹ Thirteen months later, he received livery of his lands on attaining his majority.² Subject to the life interest of his mother, Dame Margaret, the manor of East Quantockshead was, in 1543, settled on him and Mary his wife, who was a daughter of Sir Griffith Ryce.³ A further settlement of the manor and borough of Dunster, the manors of Kilton and Chilton Luttrell, and various lands, was made on them in the following year.⁴ From this time forward, John Luttrell was seldom at home. On Sunday the 11th of May 1544, immediately after the capture and burning of Edinburgh, he was knighted at Leith, by the Earl of Hertford, the English King's Lieutenant in Scotland.⁵ In the later part of the same year, he was at Boulogne, in command of over two hundred men.⁶

In 1547, John Luttrell was again in Scotland, serving under his former leader, who had been advanced to the dignity of Duke of Somerset, and he led three hundred men in the vanguard of the English army at the battle of Pinkie. A week later, he was placed in command of the little island of Inchcolm, situated in the estuary of the Forth, some two miles from Aberdour and six from Leith. The Augustinian canons who inhabited it had evacuated it, removing apparently to Donisbristle. A contemporary chronicler waxes facetious over the substitution of soldiers for men of religion :—

“ Sir John Luttrell, knight, having bene, by my Lordes grace and the counsell, elect abbot, by God's sufferance, of the monastery of Sainct Coomes Ins afore remembered, in

¹ Patent Roll, 32 Hen. VIII. part 1. m. 22.

² *Ibid.* 33 Hen. VIII. part 3, m. 23.

³ *Ibid.* 34 Hen. VIII. part 9. m. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.* 35 Hen. VIII. part 18, m. 8.

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xix. part 1. no. 531.

⁶ *Ibid.* part 2, no. 799.

the afternoon of this day (Saturday, 17th September) departed towards the island, to be stalled in his see thear accordingly ; and had with him coovent of 100 hakbutteres and 50 pioneers to kepe his house and land thear, and 2 rowe barkes well furnished with ammunicion, and 70 mariners for them to kepe his waters ; whereby it is thought he shall soon becum a prelate of great power. The perfytness of his religion is not alwaies to tarry at home, but sumtime to rowe out abrode a visitacion, and, when he goithe, I have heard say, he taketh alweyes his sumners¹ in barke with hym, which are very open mouthed and never talk but they are heard a mile of ; so that either for loove of his blessynges or fear of his cursinges, he is like to be the souveraigne over most part of his neighbours.”²

In point of fact, the garrison established in the old abbey of Inchcolm soon became a cause of anxiety to the English commanders. Instead of being able to control the navigation of the Western Forth, Sir John Luttrell was for a time invested by a leaguer of Scottish ships and boats, under an abbot and James Dogge, who were sanguine of capturing the rock.³ Although no assault was actually made, he found himself almost powerless in the face of two men of war, one of them of 80 tons burden. Having sent the *Sacre* to England, to procure timber, coal, and other necessaries, he had only the *Double Rose*, which was “lytell and open.” “Ther ys nothings,” he writes on the 2nd of November, “thatt grevys me so myche as that I cannott have on suyche shyppe, wythe my pynnays, as the *Wylllyby* ys..... wyche yf I had had, the prisys that I have lost wold have paid ther chargys for 4 or 5 monythys.”⁴

¹ Summoners or apparitors were officers of courts of law. The allusion is, of course, to pieces of artillery.

² Patten's *Expedition into Scotland of Edward, Duke of Somerset*. Dickson's *Emeralds chased in Gold*, pp. 37-

93, gives an account of Inchcolm, with three illustrations.

³ State Papers, Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. ii. no. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 27.

In another letter of the same date, he describes to the Protector Somerset his attempt to take a French ship "of 2 toppys" that had failed to get into harbour at low tide. The pinnace from Inchcolm "bett herr wyth herr artyllerye and shotte so often thoroghe and alongeshypp of the Frenche menne that they gave greate cryes wythynn borde and ranne herr ashore agaynst the chapyl att Lythe, where the pynnys bett herr still thorow wythyn poynte blanke, and had broft herr awaye yf hitt hadd nott bynne for the number of botys that laye under the Frenche mannys foreship." The Scots then mounted on the shore two pieces of brass and ten large iron pieces of artillery, and so drove off the pinnace and her boat. The ship was towed into harbour at high tide, to the great disappointment of the captain of Inchcolm, who believed her to be laden with wine and other commodities for the Governor of Leith.¹

One of Sir John Luttrell's great difficulties was the want of fuel. "I am," he writes, "macchyd wythe suyche stobborne neyhors that yf I be a colde, they gyve me leve [to] blowe my fyngers, whose gentylnes, as I maye, I shall ryght well accquytt, and the better whenseover hitt shall please the Concell tapoynt me wherwytheall."² In another letter, he says:—"I have bynne dryvenn to burne too botys, to cutt downe and burne 2 or thre lytell treys thatt grew aboute the howse, and yett yn thend have benn fayne to goo to the Fyfe syde to scyrmyshe wythe them for to gett owte some of theyr botes to burne, wher I have lost 2 of my menn."

On the arrival of an English ship, the Scots withdrew, and Sir John Luttrell sent away all the pioneers,

¹ S. P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. ii. no. 28.

² *Ibid.* no. 27.

keeping only a few artificers to make doors, iron work and walls to support platforms, and some very "simple" soldiers.¹

In November, Lord Grey of Wilton ordered the master of ordnance at Newcastle to send certain specified munitions to Inchcolm, but some of them got lost, and an inventory of the arms on the island describes an iron culverin as "broken at the mouth," and a demi-culverin as "full of honycombes and blow," so that "none dare shute it."² At the end of the month, the Council ordered that Sir John Luttrell should be reinforced and supplied with necessaries, but that he should be told to use the *Double Rose* for the time, to fortify the western part of the island, and to economize his powder.³ It was considered very doubtful whether, in the winter, provisions could be conveyed from the Tay to Inchcolm more than once a month.⁴

On the 8th of January 1548, Lord Grey wrote as follows to the Duke of Somerset, from Warkworth:—

"It maie please your Grace. It hath bene by dyvers showed unto me of the forwardnes of service of Sir John Luttrell. And having this present daie receyved from hym intelligence of his proceedinges in those parties, I thought good to signefie thereof to your Grace, whereby the same maie perceyve howe willingly he escueth idelnes, and dayly studdyeth for thannoyance of his yll neighbours.

"Fyrst, he wryteth howe before Crystmasse, he sent a lytle boote he hath, wiche roweth with six oores, unto the north ferry, in the nyght, where he tooke the ferrie boote harde from the towne, wiche boote wyll lande well 80 men.

"He wryteth also howe twoo daies before Crystmasse, he landyd at Aberdoorie, skyrmyshed with them and burnt

¹ S. P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. ii. no. 28.

³ *Ibid.* no. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 67 (III).

² *Ibid.* nos. 45, 51.

a house harde at the townes ende ; but the contrey came so faste upon them that they war compelled to retyer.

“ On Crysmasse daie in the nyght, he gave them a camysado¹ at the north ferrye, and burnt all the towne, but most parte of the men fled, and for hast lefte there geldinges behinde, whiche war slayne and burnt in a house they thought to kepe.

“ The thirde daie after Christmasse, he landyd at Burnt Ilande and brent certayne bootes in the pyer and all suche howses as they had newe buylt there, where he had three prowde onsettes gyven by the Skottes ; yet he repulsed them, and at the same [time] slewe 16 of them and, as he thinke, many hurte with shott ; after the wiche he went to a castle that standeth on the weste parte of the ilande, and out of the same there rendered unto hym a riche man and his sonne who dwelled in it, and hath brought them both with hym, and had the hoole spoyll of the house, and so retorned and mett with one hundreth freshe Skottes wiche cam from Kynghorne, thinking to have putt our men from there bootes, but they safely embarked and with there shott hurte and slewe dyvers of the Skottes ; and of our men twoo hurte.”²

One may wonder that it was thought worth while to trouble the Protector with such petty details, but they are of some interest as illustrations of the manner in which the English were trying to subdue the Scots. Thomas Wyndham, Sir John Luttrell's half-uncle, distinguished himself by burning a convent, and bringing away the nuns and the gentlemen's daughters who were at school there.³

Various provisions were thrown into Inchcolm in the winter, but, in February 1548, it was resolved to evacuate the place, and the garrison had a stormy voyage thence to Broughty Craig on board the *Mary Hamborough*.⁴

¹ Camisado, an attack in one's shirt, i.e. a night attack. *New English Dictionary*, vol. ii.

no. 5.

³ *Ibid.* no. 2.

² S. P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iii.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. nos. 57, 65 ; vol. iii. nos. 10, 69.

On the 6th of March, Sir John Luttrell writes to the Duke of Somerset :—

“ Accordinge unto your plesure by yowr late letters adresyd, I have ruynatyd the fortyfycatyonne off Combyss Ynche and the howse ther bothe in suyche sorte as thenymye shall by the same nether receyve comodyte ner force ; and frome thence aryvyd yn thys ryver off Taye the fyrst of Marche, wythe suyche munytyon, vytayle, planke and tymber as I myght thenn transporte, havynge so lytell stoage for the same, for wher the vyz admirall here hadd apoyntyng certeyne plates or hoyes unto me for to shyppe the same, on of the gretyst burdyn of thos toke another course ynto sume part of Ynglonde, by reason wherof I was enforcyd as well to burne suyche tymber and planke as I was ther dryvyne to leve, and a portyon of byscet, cheyse and bere, wyche yndede was suyche and so yll as no manne myght occupye. ”¹

He was destined for the command of Dundee, but on going there with Sir Thomas Palmer, he found that it would not be practicable to make such a citadel as would dominate the town. Accordingly, he was put in charge of a new fort on a hill near Broughty Craig. In writing on the subject to the Duke of Somerset, he describes himself “ as on that nether have respecte to placys nor what paynys I take in cacys wher I do the Kinges majeste servys and content your Grace. ”² Two days later, he says — “ I truste I shall employe myselfe so yn setting forwarde of the workes as shalbe to your Gracys contentatyonne, not dowting butt that I shall yelde a good accompt of the same, yf famyn do not more hurt thenne feare of other attemptes. ”³

On the 11th of April, he writes to Sir Thomas Holcroft and Sir Francis Leake, asking for supplies

¹ S. P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iii. no. 68.

² *Ibid.* vol. v. no. 3 (misplaced).

³ *Ibid.* no. 5 (misplaced).

of biscuit, beer, butter, horses, carts, masons and money.¹ On the last day of the month, he pours forth his grievances to the Protector :—

“ Wheras hytt aperyd unto me by yowr Gracys letters addressyd unto me by my brother and beringe date the 22 of Februarye thatt artyffycers were comandyd hyther att that present, may hytt pleas your Grace to understand ther ys nott one aryvyd here as yett, besyde the want of whome the gretyst laccke of all ys nott as yett suplyed, wyche ys of vyttallys, spetyallye of byscett and drinke, I meane suyche propoertyone as ys requysit for a somer’s store, and, sondrye wyndes bringe overslypt, ther ys yett no hope of their aryvall herr untill the last howre, and thenn how the wynd and passage shall prove yowr Grace know ys dowtfull. ”

“ I cannot butt jugge a great fawt yn yowr Gracys mynes-ters and comysyoners of the northe part, wheryn yf remedye be no hadd, all my travaylle here maye lytell suffice. ”

“ Whatt commodyte is ther fownde yn the raysynge of the bulwerkes here and turfynge of the same, whenn, for the laccke of a few masons and nessessarys for them, the same fallys dayle downe and fylls the dykes agayne, as even presently the ester part of the northe est bullwerke ys fallyn downe, with suyche abundance of yerthe that the powre of a hundrythe cannons could nott make a more perillus breache ? ”

“ The powre soldyers here ar enforcyd to suyche a nyghtlye wacche and dayle travayll withall as I darr saye yn tyme of seyge ytt canne be no whytt greater, by reasone wherof they fall dayle syccke, so as att thys present there ys yn the fort and castell welner a hundrythe syccke and not able to come unto the wallys..... Consyder the travayle of the powre menn haveinge nothinge butt salt meates. ”

“ As for my part, yf hytt wolde pleas yowr Grace tapoynt a manne of suyche dyscretion as yow myght better trust, I wolde rather traile the pyke agayne as a soldyer under hyme then haveinge charge and wantynge credytt. ”

“ Besyde the lose of fortyfyngge for laccke wherewithall, I canne neyther have powder, ledd, nor any other want sup-

¹ S. P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iv. no. 7.

plyed thatt I have wrytten for. As for herkebusys, here ys not thre able to serve nor one thatt wylbe sent. ”

“ Macche the powre menn have benne enforcyd to make of ther shyrtes, welnere thys 3 monythys, and not yett sent. Monytyone also for fyar worke nor cresset lyght I canne gett none, to se the dykes cleryd yn the nyght, werbye the Scottys come nyghtly ynto my dykes. ”

“ I am suar yf yowr Grace knew how the powre soldyers here ar dyscoragyd with ther aforsayd travayle and myserye, yow wold bothe of yowr pryncelye goodnes pyte them, and dowl the ynconvenyence thatt may folowe of hytt. Thaye saye they have servyd 18 monythes and never hadd throghe paye, which ys a great tyme. I am, yowr Grace knowys, butt one manne amonges them, and nottwithstandinge thatt I have and do kepe them yn suyche awe and obedyence thatt thaye darr nott utter ther secrett murmurings, I am fayne to seme nott to hyar all, and, havinge myselfe the same want thay have, they ar content to take lyke paynys with me, for ther purse and table ys bothe furnyshyd as myne ys, and bycawse they se I am also partaker of ther wacche and travayle, thay do the lesse complayne. ”

“ I wold wyshe yowr Gracc shuld send rather att the fyrst 200 menne to myche thenn so many to few. I juge 400 handsome soldyers, and all haccbuters were with the lest, besyde on hundrythe masons, wherof 50 quarryers, and good store of pyckkaxys, with style and ashe ynoghe for helvys (handles), all manner of other monytyon lykewyse, as barows, bascekettes, crowys and 2 able fornyshed cartes with horsys, att the last 2 or thre hoyes also laden with strawe, with wyche I wyll rayse the utter part of the worke att lest 5 fote..... The Scottes and Frenchemenne here determyne to take hytt owt of hande. ”

“ Thabbott of Pasle came hyther with 2 anseynys of Frenchemenn frome Jedworthe to scale the forte, and broght with hyme all hys adherentes off Fyfe, so thatt, as I exteme, with Frenche and Scottys, they were 2 thowsand fotemenn and 500 horse, which thaye preparyd to kepe the pasage betwyne the fort and the castell, to thend thatt whenn the powder here shuld have benne brent, ther myght no freshe relyfe be hadd from benethe. Whenn the howre apoyntyd came, I had

preparyd 2 demy barrells of powder, wich I fyryd yn the dyke, with wich the Scottys gave a sodenne showte ; butt whenn they should have come to the sawt (assault), as farr as we withyn myght understand, thaye begann to stryve who shuld come fyrst, and nott beinge agreyd therapponne thay thought hytt better to retyre agayne with wett cotes thenn to cleme wallys, and so retyryd ; my lorde of Dunkelles lorde-shipp beinge myche ashamyd hys emprise (enterprise) toke no better succes. And yn dede I sent hyme suyche a moccke the same mornynge by my drome to Dunde thatt hys spryтуall patyence was myche ofendyd withall. ” ¹

On the 20th of June, Sir John Luttrell wrote to the Protector in much better spirits, having been abundantly furnished with victuals for the fort and for the castle alike. Although the supply of drink was not altogether satisfactory, he was able to husband it, having abundance of good water. Sixteen galleys and “a bryggandyn, havinge a lytell Scottyshe bote for ther gyde ” had recently anchored off the coast of Fife, and he had greeted them with “the fyrst salve, wyche the lykyd so yll ” that they withdrew. He had been daily “attendyd ” by 500 or 600 horsemen and such footmen as the neighbourhood could supply, but he had given them such “playe ” that they would not come within a mile of the fort, whence he could not be provoked to sally forth to skirmish with them. He had turfed the new works so high that they could not be approached without ladders, and he had “platformyd ” the castle towards the water, and “vamuryd hitt with fayre lopys 6 fote thycke.” The fort must have been of some size, as two “plowys and oxen ” and eighteen horses that he had seized were constantly employed in carrying turf. ²

¹ S.P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iv.
no. 14.

² *Ibid.* no. 38.

Lord Grey of Wilton was not so well satisfied, for he wrote on the 25th of the same month :—

“ I have dyvers tymes requyred Sir John Luttrell that, in the depeche of his souldiours or laborers, he wolde eyther paie them throughly or sende me worde of the true debte unto them, so as nether the poore may be enwronged, nor the Kinges majestie further burdened then reason is, and yet now agayne here is arryved 30 or 40 poore laborers, syckly and weake, who saith they be not payd any one peny syns I sent them thither, nor bring with them any pasporte or other declaration of their due. ”¹

On the other hand the Protector highly commended Sir John Luttrell's good service, and empowered him to treat with the Earl of Argyll, who, it was thought, might be tempted by promises of English gold.²

In the autumn of 1548, Luttrell had several sharp skirmishes with Sir David Graham of Fintrie and other neighbours, and killed a considerable number of the soldiers and townsmen who were holding Dundee. In one of his forays, he captured the eldest son and the nephew of the laird of Panmure, ten hakbutters, more than 700 “ white beasts ” and 120 “ horned beasts. ”³

On the 7th of November, some English ships in the Tay landed men at Dundee and, with assistance from Sir John Luttrell, drove out the townsmen. As soon, however, as the soldiers began to loot the place, James Dogge fell upon them and drove them out in turn, with a loss of thirty killed. The English recaptured the town the next day, but abandoned it very shortly.⁴

On the 3rd of December, the Earl of Angus and the Rhinegrave, with 50 lances and 200 light horsemen, appeared before Broughty Craig, and Sir John

¹ S.P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iv. no. 40.

l'histoire de l'Ecosse, vol. i. p. 195.

² *Ibid.* no. 45.

⁴ S.P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iv. nos. 114, 115, 118.

³ Teulet, *Papiers d'État relatifs à*

Luttrell, "seeing that they sought some pastime," sallied out with thirty horse and some footmen. After some skirmishing, the Rhinegrave retired and tried to lead the English into an ambush. Luttrell had, however, foreseen such a scheme and had stationed some signalmen in the fort, to watch the movements of the enemy. Duly informed by them, he retired to a hill and there gallantly defended himself against superior numbers until reinforcements, hidden behind the hill, came up. The enemy were thus caught in the trap which they had prepared for him. Panic-stricken they fled, and their leaders could not induce them to stop until they were safe within the town of Dundee. The pursuit would have been more effective if the English captain had had more than thirty horsemen, but nevertheless he had reason to be satisfied with the day's work. A young French gentleman was found dead on the field. Eighteen of the Germans met their fate in the river Dighty and many more on dry land. Sixteen of them and two Scots were taken prisoners. Many, including the Rhinegrave himself, were wounded. The details of this affair come, curiously enough, from a Spanish source.¹

The last of Sir John Luttrell's letters that has been preserved is an urgent application for leave of absence, written at Broughty on the 22nd of January 1549, and addressed to the Duke of Somerset :—

"I have receyved, with the last convoye of victualles that cam hether, a letter from my mother, wich I have sent yower Grace enclosed herein, to thend that, seing the good offer she hath made me for thadvancement of my poore levyng, it might the rather please yower Grace's pryncelye honour to fordre me therin. Wich doing, I shall be the abler to serve the Kynges majestie and yower Grace, as one that dowltheth

¹ Teulet, pp. 202-204.

not to shewe myself so as yower Grace shall perseyve both that and all the rest that I possesse shall be bent alwayes unto his maister's servyce—so as it might please yower Grace to serve hyr fanceye and my commodyte at thys tyme for my commyng home presentlye.

“And because yower Grace shall the better perceyve the offer that she hath made me, may it please yower Grace to understand that the manor of Myniett (Minehead) that she promyseth me, is 120*l* by the yeere, besydes that hyr joynter is almost 300 marke with hyr demeynes, as I gesse it, wich wyll be, as yower Grace maye consydre, a great advauncement of my poore levyng, besyde the helpe that I shall procure at hyr handes, and my mother in lawes, for the payment of my dettes, wich if I shold not take now when it is offred me, I never loke to come unto it. For iff shee shold take a fanceye in hyr head to marrye, I were utterlye undone ! ”

“Notwithstandyng my busynes with my mother, I wyll in the meane tyme so furnyssh myselfe with horse and harnes that, in the begyning of this somer, my trust is I wyll be in as good order to serve yower Grace in the feld as no gentylman, I trust, in all England shall be better of my abylyte and power.

“Humblye desyryng yower Grace in the meane tyme to heere my humble sute, for, besyde the goodnes of my mother unto me, I have a great deale of monye to paye unto my creditours, for whome I must provyde payment, or otherwyse it wyll be more to my dyspleasure then I maye well beare.”¹

Dame Margaret Luttrell's letter, which was enclosed in the preceding, has disappeared, but we may fairly infer that she had offered to clear the manor of Minehead of the charge which her husband, Sir Andrew Luttrell, had made upon it for the benefit of his younger children.² It seems clear that Sir John Luttrell was not allowed to leave his post even for a few months. He was trusted as a diplomatist no less than as a soldier, and, in March 1549, he was

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, vol. ii. p. 627.

p. 42; D.C.M. xxix. 28.

² *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. iii.

appointed one of the two English commissioners to treat with the Earls of Argyll, Athol and Errol and others, with a view to the expulsion of the French from Scotland, and a marriage between Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary.¹ The negotiation, however, came to nothing.² The last of Sir John Luttrell's exploits seems to have been a raid in which he burned several villages and took prisoner a certain Monsieur de Toge, as recorded in the journal of the young English King.³

In the early part of 1550, the Scots resolved to make a serious attack upon Broughty Craig. Although described as "behind the age both in the raising and the besieging of fortified places," they were encouraged and aided by their more experienced allies from France.⁴ The sequel may be given in the words of a Scottish chronicler :—

"Monsieur de Thermes, with the assistance of the Governour, quha accompaneit him in all his interprices, came forduarte to the toune of Dundie in the beginning of Februar ; quhair having prepared sic thingis as wes necessar for the seiging of the fort, he laid the battre thairto apoun the south eist pairt thairof, and cuttit away all moyens, passages and intelligences betuix the fort and the castell of Broughtie, so the fort culd haif no kinde of ayd nor releyf frome the sey ; and eftir the same was doung down with gret ordinance, the assailt was gevin thairto, baithe with the Scottis and Frenche men the xx day of Februar ; quhair the Inglismen maid resistance and defence at the first entering, bot thay war so curageouslie and stoutlie assailyet that thai war dung frome the wallis, and the most part of thame all quhilk was within the fort war slayne, and the rest taikin presoners.

"The nixt day, the Inglismen quha kepit the castell of Broughtie, fering the like to cum to thame, randerit the

¹ S.P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. v. nos. 12, 13.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, 1547-1563. p. xvi.

³ Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.

⁴ Burton's *History of Scotland*, (ed. 1897) vol. iii. p. 278.

castell, having onlie thair liffis saif. So that haill cuntrey wes clenged of the Inglisemen immediatlie." ¹

The less circumstantial English chroniclers antedate the fall of Broughty Craig by a couple of months, and state that the Scots slew all its defenders except Sir John Luttrell, whom they took prisoner. ² This is clearly an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that the avenging Scots scandalized their foreign allies by their unwillingness to give any quarter. ³

The English government did not fail the captive in his time of trouble. As early as the 5th of March, the Council at Westminster ordered the Warden of the East and Middle Marches "to do what he can for the delyvery of Mr. Luttrell, and, at his arryval, to helpe him with money for his cummyng, which shalbe repayed." Two days later, they issued a warrant for no less than 400*l.* "for the raunsom of Mr. Luttrell and others taken at Browghty Crag." ⁴

Furthermore, at the end of the same month, it was resolved that three Gordons, who were hostages for important Scotsmen, should be delivered to Thomas Wyndham "to be by him conveyed to Sir John Luttrell for his relief." ⁵ Wyndham, it will be remembered, was Sir John's half-uncle.

The late captain of Broughty Craig was in due course released from captivity, and, in June 1550, the Council resolved:—

"That Sir John Luttrell, in consideration of the notable good service he hath doone unto the Kinges Majistie during all his warres, shall have landes to the value of 100 markes by the yere during his Highnes pleasure." ⁶

¹ Lesley's *History of Scotland*, p. 231.

² Hayward's *Life and reign of Edward VI.* in Kennett's *Complete History*, vol. ii, p. 291; Stowe's *Annals*, p. 601.

³ Burton, p. 279.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vol.

ii. pp. 406, 407. Knights were often styled "Mr." in the sixteenth century.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 421.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 58; Patent Roll, 4 Edw. VI. part 5; D.C.M. xxxvii. 27.

Although defeated, he was in no sense disgraced, and, later in the year, he extracted from the government no less than 3,200*l.* for "the waiges of himself and his souldiours in the Northe."¹

There is at Dunster Castle a most interesting picture on panel commemorative of Sir John Luttrell's rectitude and courage in adversity. It represents him as half immersed in the sea, not far from a man-of-war flying the red cross of St George, but in a desperate condition, struck by lightning and in flames. He is wading ashore, without any clothes except a large scarf tied round his right arm which he holds upright, with the fist clenched. A bracelet round the wrist of this arm is inscribed :— "*Nec flexit lucrum, 1550,*" while the corresponding bracelet on the left arm is inscribed :— "*Nec fregit discrimen.*"

In a cloud above is a group of female figures. The largest of them, as naked as Sir John himself, is laying her left hand on his outstretched arm, and holding in the right a sprig of olive. The others hold respectively a peacock, a breastplate, a helmet, a sword, a purse, and a horse. On a rock below there is the following inscription :—

" MORE THĒ THE ROCK AMYDYS THE RAGING SEAS,
THE CONSTĀT HERT NO DĀGER DREDDYS NOR FEARYS,
S. I. L."

Lower on the rock is the date "1550" and the monogram of the painter "HĒ."

This monogram, the allegorical character of the picture, and the execution alike show it to be the work of Lucas d'Heere. The date, however, presents some difficulty, inasmuch as this artist is stated to have been born at Ghent in 1534, so that he would have

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, pp. 106, 135, 243.

been only sixteen years of age in 1550.¹ An ingenious theory that the date should read "1558," part of the last figure having been obliterated, proves on examination altogether untenable.² Sir John Luttrell was not living in 1558; a replica of the picture at Badmondisfield Hall in Suffolk bears the earlier date; and a portrait by Lucas d'Heere of Thomas Wyndham, Sir John Luttrell's half-uncle, at Longford Castle, is inscribed "ÆTATIS XLII. MDL." It is possible that both the pictures were painted by order of Dame Margaret Luttrell some time after 1550, in order to commemorate the valour displayed by her son and her half-brother in the war of that year. On the whole, however, it is far more probable that there is an error as to the date of the birth of Lucas d'Heere, and that he painted these companions in arms from life soon after their return from Scotland in 1550.

Before very long, the picture at Dunster was slightly altered by the addition of the head of a drowning man and other minor accessories, with two Latin couplets on the rock:—

*"Effigiem renovare tuam, fortissime miles,
Ingens me meritum fecit amorque tui,
Nam nisi curasses heredem scribere fratrem,
Hei, tua contigerant prædia nulla mihi.*

1591. G.L."

The best translation of the lines yet offered runs:—

"Your great desert and my regard for you
Cause me, brave knight, your portrait to renew.
For had you not your brother made your heir,
None of your lands had fallen to my share."

The initials of the restorer are those of George Luttrell of Dunster Castle, nephew of Sir John. The

¹ Van Mander, *Le Livre des Peintres*.

² Mr. Lionel Cust, in *Archæologia*, vol. liv. p. 77.

additions are not to be seen on the replica at Badmintondisfield Hall, which must consequently be anterior to 1591. It may have been painted for one of Sir John Luttrell's daughters, but nothing is known about its history.

Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, Thomas Palmer of Fairfield notices the portrait of Sir John Luttrell at Dunster, and mentions a tradition then current that it referred to his "having saved a certain lady from drowning, whom he was then in love with, and afterwards married."¹ Later on, Collinson quotes these words from the manuscript on which he so largely relies, but suppresses the fact that Palmer did not believe the story.² Lastly, Savage, accepting it implicitly, makes matters even worse by saying that the lady is represented as secured to the man's arm by a handkerchief, and that a figure of victory "appears as if ready to crown him with laurel."³ Victory, forsooth, after the disaster at Broughty Craig! Suffice it to observe that the picture does not show any crown of laurel, that the only drowning figure (added in 1591) is that of a man with a large moustache, and that Sir John Luttrell had been married some seven years before the date inscribed. The romantic story and the erroneous description of the picture are alike characteristic of the period to which they belong.

After three centuries and a half, one cannot be certain of understanding every allusion in this allegorical picture, and one may easily credit its author with ideas that never passed through his brain. The general meaning of it is, however, clear enough. It is not necessary to suppose that Sir John Luttrell ever suffered actual shipwreck. The year 1550 witnesses

¹ MS. at St. Audries.

² *History of Somerset*, vol. ii, p. 12.

³ *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*. p. 445.

the wreck of the English cause in Scotland. Sir John Luttrell, one of its chief representatives, is a prisoner, denuded of all that he values most. He does not, however, give way to unseemly grief. No offer of lucre can turn him from his duty ; no danger can break his lofty spirit. In a sea of misfortune he stands erect. The rainbow of hope appears in the sky and the darkest cloud shows a silver lining. The goddess of peace takes him by the arm and holds forth a sprig of olive symbolical of the treaty concluded between England and Scotland. Behind her stand her satellites, ready to restore to the hero all that he has recently lost.¹

If the letters ' S.I.L. ' stand for English words, they may be taken to represent the name of the subject of the portrait, Sir John Luttrell. If on the other hand they stand for Latin words, an interpreter has a wide field before him, *sententia*, *simulacrum*, *somnium* and other nouns being possible extensions of the first letter.

Although Sir John Luttrell was often in want of money wherewith to pay his soldiers, there is little foundation for Collinson's statement that, being " extremely desirous of glory," he " greatly wasted the fair patrimony which descended to him from his ancestors, selling great part of his demesnes at Dunster, Kilton and elsewhere." ² A mortgage that he had made of Minehead Park was, indeed, foreclosed by his cousin Hugh Stewkley, a grasping lawyer, but Dame Margaret Luttrell intended to pay it off, and Stewkley was charged with behaving dishonestly in the matter.³ The property thus lost consisted of two

¹ The peacock may perhaps be an extended version of the Luttrell crest. Dr. Warre thinks that it suggests the presence of Juno. He also sees a true lover's knot in the arrangement of the scarf. There can be little doubt that

the scarf had some definite meaning.

² *History of Somerset*, vol. ii. p. 12.

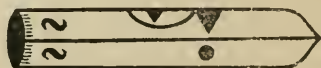
³ *Inq. post mortem*, C. II. 106, no. 55 ; *Chancery Proceedings*, Series II, bundle 113, no. 76 ; D.C.M. XXI.X 37.

hundred acres of agricultural land which had ceased to be maintained as a park in the time of Sir Andrew Luttrell.¹ The name, however, still survives.

Kilton Park was, in 1553, merely a wood of about a hundred acres "well sett with okes and yonge ashes." Dame Margaret Luttrell had at that time the enjoyment of the park at East Quantockshead of the same size, enclosed with a pale and containing about a hundred deer. Marshwood Park, enclosed partly by a ditch and hedge and partly by a pale, comprised a hundred acres and maintained a hundred deer. Thomas Wyndham already mentioned had a lease of it for sixty years, at a nominal rent during his own lifetime. The only park in Sir John Luttrell's own hands was that below his castle, comprising seventy-two acres, of which only twenty were in the old manor of Dunster, Great Avelham and twelve acres "on the sowest syde of the water" being reckoned as part of the manor of Carhampton. Here there were fifty deer and "dyvers great okes, elmes and ashes," which, if near together, would have occupied four acres out of the twenty acres in the Hanger.²

Among the muniments at Dunster Castle there is a small memorandum on parchment with regard to swan-upping, as follows :—

" S^r John Lutterell.



" S^r Andrew Lutterell.



These were the marks which these men above written had upon the bees of their swanes belonging unto the Castell

¹ Leland's *Itinerary*, (1907) p. 166.

² D.C.M. III. 2; XIX. 25; XX. 4, 6.

of Dunster by inheritance and alwayes kepte at the Mere by Glastonberrye. Yt is good to renewe yt. S. L. ”¹

Sir John Luttrell was not the sort of man who could settle down quietly to the normal life of a country squire. A camp was more to his liking, and, being prevented by the peace from pursuing an active military career, he determined to go abroad in search of adventure. With this object, he combined with several kindred spirits in organizing an expedition to Morocco, professedly for the development of commerce. The leader of it was to be his half-uncle Thomas Wyndham, a brave and experienced sailor, but an incorrigible pirate. When, however, the ship sailed from Portsmouth, Sir John Luttrell was not on board.² The month of July 1551 was miserable on account of the sweating sickness.

“The sufferers were in general men between thirty and forty, and the stoutest and healthiest most readily caught the infection. The symptoms were a sudden perspiration, accompanied with faintness and drowsiness. Those who were taken with full stomachs died immediately. Those who caught cold shivered into dissolution in a few hours. Those who yielded to the intense temptation of sleep, though but for a quarter of an hour, woke only to die.”³

One of the earliest and most distinguished victims of this terrible pestilence was Sir John Luttrell, who succumbed to it at Greenwich on the 10th of July. A Londoner who records his death describes him as “a nobull captayne.”⁴ He was about thirty-one years of age. A few days only before the death of Sir John Luttrell, certain commissioners had been empowered by the King to pronounce a divorce between him

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 24.

² Hakluyt's *Voyages*, II. ii, 7-11; *Dict. of National Biography*, vol. lxiii. p. 249.

³ Froude's *History of England* (1867).

vol. v. p. 353.

⁴ *Machyn's Diary*, p. 7; *Camden Miscellany*, vol. x. part 2, p. 73.

and his wife, upon proof of her adultery.¹ This lady afterwards married James Godolphin of Gwinear, in Cornwall. Inasmuch as she was a legatee under the will of her mother-in-law, Dame Margaret Luttrell, we may fairly presume that the charges against her had not been established.² By an arrangement repugnant to feudal ideas, the Castle of Dunster, which was the head-place of the Honour of that name, formed part of her dower or jointure.³ She had some household goods there in 1553, which had belonged to her father, Sir Griffith Ryce, but she afterwards went to live at Kilton.⁴ She continued to bear the surname of her first husband until her death, and she was buried among the Luttrells at East Quantockshead on the last day of March 1588.

Sir John Luttrell left issue three daughters, Catherine, Dorothy and Mary, who, being minors at the time of his death, became wards of the Crown :—⁵

Catherine was aged fourteen. Under the will of her maternal grandmother, Dame Catherine Edgcumbe, she received a chain of gold with a flower set with two diamonds and a ruby.⁶ In July 1558, she married Thomas Copley of Gatton, in Surrey. There is a curious letter of that date from him to the Master of the Revels asking for the loan of a mask for the wedding which was to take place at Nonsuch, and which he affected to deplore.⁷ A tradition in his family, however, says that he had been so attracted by the beauty of Catherine Luttrell

¹ Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 204.

² Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi, p. 15.

³ Inq. post mortem. C. II. 159, no. 43; D.C.M. II. 14, 17.

⁴ *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. iii.

p. 149.

⁵ Inq. post mortem, C. II. 106, no. 55; E. II. 943, no. 5; D.C.M. II. 12, 14.

⁶ *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. iii. p. 149.

⁷ *Loseley Manuscripts* (ed. Kempe), p. 59.

that he refused the hand of a daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, who consequently became his enemy.¹

Catherine Copley had a chequered career. Her husband was rich and highly connected. He sat in several Parliaments, and the Queen herself stood godmother to their eldest son in 1561.² Some two years later, however, he became a Roman Catholic. After being fined and imprisoned in 1568, he very imprudently went abroad without licence, in the early part of 1570. The government accordingly seized his goods and confiscated most of his rents, and, although his wife was allowed to return to England for a while, he remained in exile until his death at Antwerp in 1584. Having been knighted and created a baron by the French King, he chose to style himself 'Sir Thomas Copley, knight, Lord Copley of Gatton,' and he also set up an untenable claim to the English baronies of Welles and Hoo.³ After the death of her husband, Lady Copley returned to England and proved his will. As part of her jointure, she had the right of nominating the two members for the little constituency of Gatton.⁴ She is described as very "simple" and unfit to meddle with politics, but, being a noted "bigot" she was regarded with suspicion, and was committed to prison once if not twice in her later years.⁵ She was living in 1603.⁶

¹ Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, vol. i. p. 51.

² Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 128.

³ Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. i. p. 186.

⁴ *Loseley Manuscripts*, p. 242.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Addenda, Elizabeth, vol. xxxi. no. 158; Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii; *Acts of the Privy Council*,

N. S. vol. xv. p. 179.

⁶ Nearly all that is known about Sir Thomas Copley, his wife, and his family has been brought together in Mr. R. C. Christie's Introduction to the *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1896. The editor there corrects several errors in the article which he had previously contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XIII. p. 169.

The arms of Luttrell occur several times in some fine heraldic glass that was removed from one of the seats of the Copley family to the great hall at Sutton Place near Guildford.¹

A more curious memorial of the Copleys is an oil painting which now hangs at Dunster Castle, having been recently bought by Mr. G. F. Luttrell. In this, Sir Thomas Copley is represented in a tabard bearing the arms of Copley and Hoo quarterly, kneeling at a faldstool, with his five sons behind him. On the opposite side, Lady Copley is represented in a mantle bearing the arms of Luttrell and Ryce alternately, similarly kneeling and attended by her four daughters.

The central part of the picture is intended to illustrate the progress of the human soul from earth to heaven. The flesh and the devil endeavour to hold it, but death cuts their gilded cords with his scythe and the soul ascends through thirteen concentric circles representing the Ptolemaic system. In the Empyrean Heaven above is the crucified Saviour attended by Saints, and in the circumference are Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels and Angels, according to the Dionysian arrangement which was followed by Dante and others. This 'device' of Sir Thomas Copley, having been approved by the theologians of the University of Paris in 1580, was engraved there in that year.² His eldest daughter added a Latin inscription and three coats of arms to the original painting, in 1625.³

¹ Harrison's *Annals of an old Manor-House*.

² S.P. Foreign, France, vol. iv. no. 178. The existence of the original device was not known to Mr. Christie.

³ This lady's name was Joan—not Elizabeth. She married Peter de Martigni, lord of Eteves, captain of Philippeville.

Dorothy, second daughter and coheiress of Sir John Luttrell, was twelve years of age at the time of his death. She married Humphrey White, citizen and merchant tailor of London.¹

Mary, third daughter and coheiress of Sir John Luttrell, was nine years of age at the time of his death. She married Henry Shelley of Mapledurham, in Hampshire, a cousin of Sir Thomas Copley, and also a Popish Recusant.²

The two younger daughters of Sir John Luttrell received a great bowl apiece under the will of their grandmother, Dame Catherine Edgcumbe, and a gold ring with a death's head and an enamelled motto under that of their brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Copley.³ They survived their respective husbands, and were living as widows in 1595, long after selling their rights in the Dunster estate to their uncle, Thomas Luttrell, the male representative of the family.⁴

¹ D.C.M. (Prynne's list) xxxviii. 77, 80; *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, pp. 88, 183, 188.

² Weaver's *Visitations of Somerset*, p. 43; *Inner Temple Records* vol. i. p. lv; D.C.M. ii. 18.

³ *Somerset Medieval Wills*, vol. iii. p. 149; *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley*, p. 184.

⁴ Chancery Proceedings, Eliz. Ll. 4, no. 5.

CHAPTER V.

THE LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER

1551—1644.

THOMAS LUTTRELL, second son of Sir Andrew Luttrell, served under his brother Sir John in Scotland, and assisted him by collecting men and money for the war.¹ In November 1548, it was falsely reported that he had been killed in a fight at Dundee.² According to the terms of the will of his brother, he should have succeeded to all his landed property.³ The laws of the realm, however, required that a third of it should be reserved for the daughters and coheirs of the testator.⁴ Furthermore, under various family settlements, his mother, Dame Margaret Luttrell, had for her life the manors of East Quantockshead, Iveton, Vexford, Radlet, Carhampton and Rodhuish; the manor of Minehead was in the hands of trustees charged to raise out of it the portions of the younger children of Sir Andrew; and Dame Mary Luttrell, his sister-in-law, had for her life the castle and borough of Dunster and the manor of Kilton. The property that actually passed to Thomas Luttrell, in 1551, was consequently very small. In the course

¹ State Papers, Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iv. no. 14; *Acts of the Privy Council* N.S. vol. ii. p. 245; Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report on Rutland MSS.* vol. iv. p. 204; D.C.M. III. 3; xxxvii. 29.

² S.P. Scotland, Edw. VI. vol. iv. no. 114.

³ P.C.C. Bucke. f. 37.

⁴ St. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

of a few years, however, he managed to buy up some of the rights of his sister-in-law, and the reversionary rights of her three daughters and their respective husbands.¹

In order to do this, he had to sell Stonehall and Woodhall, in Suffolk, and various outlying estates in the west of England.² On the other hand he consolidated his property by the purchase of Hopcot, between Wootton Courtenay and Minehead.³ He also acquired for himself and his successors a considerable inheritance in the neighbourhood of Dunster, by marrying his cousin Margaret, daughter and eventual heiress of Christopher Hadley of Withycombe. One of her direct ancestors had married the heiress of the Durboroughs of Heathfield, and a previous Durborough had married a coheiress of the Fitzurses of Williton and Withycombe. She accordingly brought to her husband the manors of Heathfield, Williton Hadley, and Withycombe Hadley, and lands in various parishes in West Somerset.⁴

The date and the exact circumstances of the marriage are not recorded, but we may fairly suppose it to have taken place in the reign of Edward the Sixth, when ecclesiastical discipline was somewhat lax. The validity of it was evidently challenged in the stricter reign of Philip and Mary, for the parties found it desirable to have recourse to Rome. A solemn document issued by the Cardinal of St. Angelo, Papal Penitentiary, at St. Peter's, on the 28th of November 1558, recites that Thomas Luttrell esquire

¹ D.C.M. II. 16, 18; XIV. 1-5, 11, 13, 16; XXIV. 15; XXIX. 38; XXXVIII. 77, 79, 80. Feet of Fines, Somerset, Hilary and Easter 6 Eliz; Trinity 7 Eliz. Notes of Fines, Easter 10 Eliz; Mich. 11 Eliz.

² D.C.M. XXXVIII. 81, 84.

³ D.C.M. XXXVI. 8. In a lease of Hopcot granted by him, he reserved all hawks, pheasants and partridges. Inq. post mortem, Wards & Liveries, 13 (113).

⁴ Memoranda Roll, 4 Eliz. part 4, m. 66.

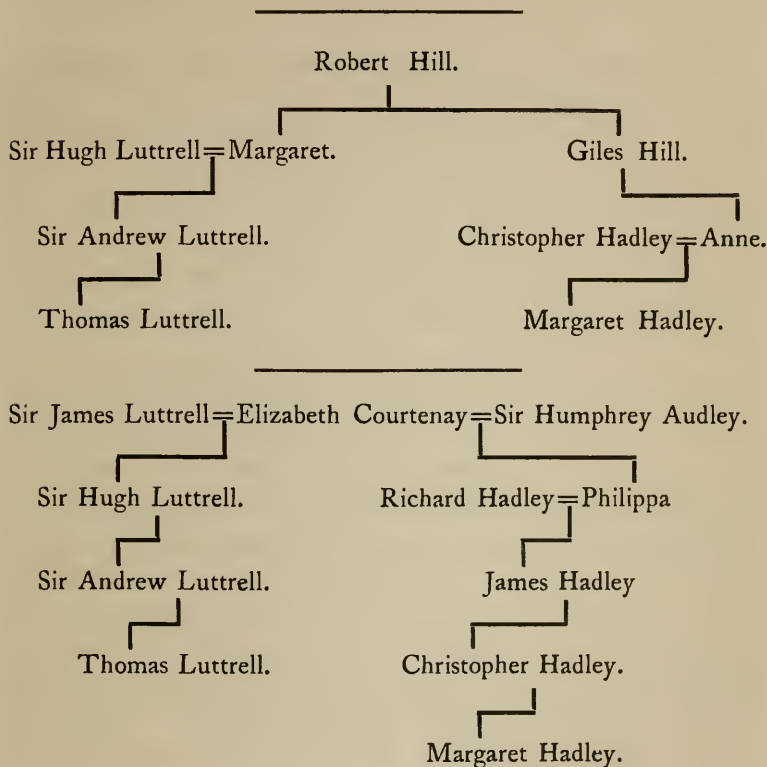
and Margaret Hadley had by their petition confessed that they had, without proper dispensation, been actually married, although related in the third and third, and in the third and fourth degrees of kindred, and although spiritually related, the mother of Thomas having stood godmother to Margaret at her baptism or confirmation. The language of the document leaves it doubtful whether the marriage had been solemnized in public and whether any issue had been actually born. Its effect, however, was to release the parties from the excommunication that they had incurred on condition of a fresh marriage "in the face of the church," and to legitimate any previous offspring.¹

The relationship in blood between them can be best explained by two tables on the opposite page. The first shews kindred in the third and third degrees, and the second shews kindred in the third and fourth degrees.

The dispensation, having been issued a few days after the accession of Elizabeth, was probably one of the very latest documents of the sort that was despatched before the final breach between England and Rome, and the sequel is perhaps the most curious part of the story. For nearly two years no further action was taken in the matter, but on the 27th of August 1560, Thomas Luttrell was solemnly married in the church of East Quantockshead, his bride being described in the register as "Mrs. Margaret Hadley." Their eldest son, George Luttrell, was born in the following month. In the inscription on the monument which he set up in memory of his parents, some sixty years later, it is expressly stated that they were "lawfully married."

¹ D.C.M. xxxvii. 26.

In 1559, the growing town of Minehead received a royal charter of incorporation, the government being vested in a portreeve and twelve burgesses.¹ In 1563, when it for the first time sent up members to



Parliament, Thomas Luttrell, the lord of the manor, was one of the two elected.² He and his tenants at Minehead resolved to make a new quay or pier there,

¹ Patent Roll. 1 Eliz.

² *Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 405. Thomas Fitzwilliam and John Fowler are stated to have sat for Minehead in the Parliament of 1559. (Willis' *Notitia Parliamentaria*, p. 66.)

This is clearly an error. (S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. lxxvii. no. 44.) Fitz William and Fowler were the members for Weymouth. (*Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 400.)

and, in the last year of his life, he penned a circular letter to his neighbours, friends and "well willers," inviting them to contribute to the work, which, he considered, would be very useful to the country.¹ He was appointed Sheriff of Somerset in the autumn of 1570.

Although Thomas Luttrell was constantly at Dunster transacting business, he did not actually reside there. He is described as "Thomas Luttrell of Marshwood" in some legal proceedings with regard to treasure trove in the Hundred of Carhampton. The main facts of the case may be given briefly. A certain Agnes Ellesworth, the wife of Richard Ellesworth the elder "of Imbercombe, husbandman," was delivered of a still-born child, in the month of May 1559, at Owl Knowle in the parish of Carhampton, a house which he presumably rented from Thomas Trevelyan. In digging a grave hard by, wherein to bury the body, she suddenly came upon a great quantity of gold coins sufficient, it was estimated, to fill a "wyne quart" less a quarter of a "wyne pynte." After giving a few to two female friends who were with her at the time, she put the rest into a "trene dysshe" (wooden dish) and so handed them over to her husband on his return. They consisted of "old nobles," "half old nobles," and "quarter old nobles," and Richard Ellesworth, reckoning the noble at 13s. 4d. estimated their value at 107l. 10s. When a report of their discovery reached Thomas Luttrell, he laid claim to them as treasure trove in his Hundred of Carhampton, but satisfied himself with coins to the value of 100l. The finder was not, however, suffered to keep the remainder, and they were handed over, in May 1560,

¹ D.C.M. XXIX. 34.

to Sir Thomas Parry, Treasurer of the Queen's Household. Then began tedious proceedings in the Exchequer, the Attorney General putting forward the right of the Crown and Thomas Luttrell defending his own claim, to be supported by extracts from court rolls and bailliffs' accounts. Eventually the case was set down for trial before the justices of assize at Chard in July 1564.¹ Here the story ends abruptly. There is no record of the judgment, which was to have been entered at the Exchequer in Michaelmas term. Perhaps the Crown withdrew its claim. Anyhow, the Luttrells have maintained theirs ever since, and it is interesting to note that there are now at Dunster Castle a number of nobles, half-nobles and angels of the reign of Edward the Fourth, which are presumably the remains of the hoard found at Owl Knowle in 1559.

Thomas Luttrell died on the 16th of January 1571, and was buried at Dunster on the 6th of February. By Margaret his wife, mentioned above, he had issue three sons and as many daughters ;—

George, his heir.

John, of South Mapperton in Dorset.

Andrew, baptized at Dunster on the 14th of October 1569. He died without issue.

Ursula.

Margaret.

Mary, baptized at Dunster on the 11th of October 1567, and mentioned in the will of her grandmother, Dame Margaret Luttrell, in 1580.² She married, as his second wife, Sir Robert Strode of Parnham in Dorset, son of her stepfather.³

¹ Memoranda Roll, K. R. Trinity 3 vi. p. 15.

Eliz. 20, 56 ; D.C.M. xxxi. 18.

² Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. p. 130.

³ Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. ii.

Margaret Luttrell, the relict of Thomas, received dower out of her husband's lands.¹ On the 28th of January 1572, when her year of mourning was just over, she was married at East Quantockshead to John Strode of Parnham. He died some ten years later and, in 1587, she married a third husband, Richard Hill, who had been her 'servant,' probably her agent.² He was knighted after her death, which occurred at Luxborough on the 30th of September 1607.³

GEORGE LUTTRELL, the eldest son of Thomas and Margaret, was born about the 12th of September 1560, and was consequently under eleven years of age at the death of his father.⁴ His wardship pertaining to the Crown was soon sold to Hugh Stewkley of Marshtown near Dunster, who put him to school with a certain Mr. Brebrooke. While he was still quite young, he was given the choice of his guardian's two daughters, Joan and Susan, and he selected the former, who was about two years younger than himself. In October 1575, the young couple were solemnly contracted at Marsh "by words of the present time," he taking her by the hand and saying:—"I, George, take thee, Joan, to my wedded wife, and thereto I give thee my faith and troth." Hugh Stewkley was careful that there should be witnesses of the ceremony and that they should put their names to a written memorial of it.⁵

In July 1576, when George Luttrell was nearly sixteen, he was admitted a Fellow Commoner at Caius College, Cambridge, and was given a cubicle

¹ D.C.M. II. 22, 23.

² *Ibid.* XIV. 23; XXXII. 49, 54; Chancery Proceedings, Eliz. LI. 11, no. 67.

³ D.C.M. XXXII. 72.

⁴ Inq. post mortem, C. II, 159, no. 43.

⁵ D.C.M. XXXVIII. 88.

in the Master's Lodging.¹ From Cambridge he wrote in the following year that he fully intended to marry his cousin, Joan Stewkley, hoping thereby to put an end to the "brablings" between her father and his grandmother, Dame Margaret Luttrell. The project was, however, strongly opposed both by her and by his step-father John Strode. The old lady declared that he would be "utterly cast away" if he were to marry the daughter of the miserly lawyer who had so often thwarted the Luttrells, and she threatened that if her wishes were disregarded, she would leave away the Priory of Dunster from her grandson, and so make him "a poor gentleman." A match in Wales was suggested as an alternative, and Sir James FitzJames, who wished to secure the young heir for his own niece, did not scruple to say that Joan Stewkley was "a slutte and that she had no good qualities."²

By a will dated the 9th of March 1580, Dame Margaret Luttrell bequeathed to her grandson, George Luttrell, the hanging of arras that had been made for the parlour at Dunster, two bowls of silver gilt, a drinking cup of silver gilt that had belonged to his father, two spoons and a salt, and, furthermore, the Priory of Dunster with all the lands and profits belonging thereto.³ She died on the 7th of July in that year and was buried beside her husband at East Quantockshead. All effective opposition being thus at an end, George Luttrell was duly married to Joan Stewkley at Dunster on the 25th of September 1580, he being then just over twenty years of age. He was admitted a member of Gray's Inn in the following month.

¹ Venn's *History of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. i, p. 87.

² D.C.M. xxxviii. 88.

³ Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 15.

In 1584, we find George Luttrell undertaking to let his mother, Margaret Strode, have "one fee bucke of season in the summer, and one fee doe in the winter" from his park at Dunster or from that at East Quantockshead at her choice.¹ Kilton fell to him on the death of Dame Mary Luttrell in 1588, and on the death of his mother, in 1607, he succeeded to the lands which she held in dower and to the Hadley inheritance.

George Luttrell was returned to Parliament as one of the members for Minehead in 1584, but he did not cultivate the friendly relations with the borough that had usually subsisted in his father's time. It was doubtless at his instance that a royal commission was appointed, in 1601, to enquire whether the Portreeve and burgesses had maintained the port as required. The report being unfavourable, their charter was abrogated in the early part of the reign of James the First and the corporation ceased to exist.² Not satisfied with this, George Luttrell wished Minehead to be disfranchised. There is a draft petition from him to the House of Commons stating that the town "did never choose anie burgesses for the Parlyment, as appeareth by record, untill the fite yeare of the raigne of the late memorable Queene Elizabeth" and contending that it would be "a great indignitie" to that "honorable assemblie" that burgesses should be chosen "without legal power and authoritie." He could hardly have foreseen that his descendants would derive influence and profit from their connexion with the borough of Minehead.

In 1583 and in 1586, he was required to provide a demilance and two light horsemen for the service of

¹ D.C.M. xiv. 24.

Somerset, 1994; Memoranda Roll,

² Exchequer Special Commissions, K.R. Trin. 1 Jac. I. m. 25.

the State.¹ How he avoided the burden of knight-hood does not appear. He was appointed Sheriff of Somerset in 1593 and again in 1609.² According to tradition, he was "much noted for his hospitality and the general love and respect of his neighbours."³ Contemporary documents, however, show him to have been exceedingly litigious. At some period of his life, he must have spent long days searching the records in London for evidence in support of his feudal rights over the manors and lands pertaining to the Honour of Dunster. His early legal training had made him very observant of minute points, and he left behind him a quantity of ill-written notes about rents, boundaries, and the like. It would be tedious to enumerate the different suits in which he was engaged against his father-in-law, his aunt, his tenants, his neighbours, and his tradesmen. Two poachers who confessed that they had hunted, killed and taken some deer in his park at Dunster received a very severe sentence in the notorious Court of Star Chamber in 1597, being committed to the Fleet Prison for three months, required to find security for good behaviour for seven years, and ordered to pay no less than 100*l.* apiece as a fine to the Crown.⁴

George Luttrell deserves to be remembered as a builder. At Dunster, he converted part of the lower ward of the Castle into a Jacobean mansion, he altered the house now known as the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*, and he built the picturesque market-house. At East Quantockshead, he greatly enlarged the manor house, altering it so materially that the old plan cannot easily be traced. At Marshwood, he appears to have renov-

¹ Green's *Somerset & the Armada*, pp. 34, 70.

² *List of Sheriffs*, p. 124, 125.

³ Palmer MS. at St. Audries.

⁴ D.C.M. XIV. 39.

ated the house for his married son. At Minehead, in 1616, he built a pier afterwards known as 'the Old Quay,' at a cost of about 5000*l*, the townsmen having forfeited their charter of incorporation, as mentioned above.¹

There is at Dunster Castle a portrait of George Luttrell painted on panel in 1594, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He is represented in black brocade with a metal belt round the waist, a large ruff and white cuffs. The face is not unlike that of his uncle, Sir John Luttrell, as depicted by Lucas d'Heere.²

George Luttrell died on the 1st of April 1629, and was buried at Dunster on the 23rd. Joan his wife, already mentioned, had predeceased him and had been buried, on the 22nd of November 1621, in the Priory Church of Dunster, near her parents the Stewkleys, in accordance with a will made by consent of her husband.³ They had issue five sons and seven daughters :—

Thomas, heir to his father.

Hugh, of Rodhuish.

George, baptized at Dunster on the 12th of October 1590. He matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1608, and afterwards became a student of Gray's Inn. He was buried at Dunster, on the 30th of December 1619.

John, baptized at Dunster on the 5th of January 1592. He matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1608. He was living in 1620.

Andrew, baptized at Dunster on the 6th of June 1596 and buried there four days later.

¹ Hancock's *Minchcad*, pp. 284, 286.

² It may be noticed that the tinctures of the Luttrell arms are given wrongly in the shield in the corner of the

picture.

³ Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 16.



GEORGE LUTTRELL.

1594.

Margaret, baptized at East Quantockshead on the 11th of October 1584. She married at Dunster, on the 3rd of August 1607, John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe.¹

Catherine, baptized at Dunster on the 18th of April 1589. She married there, on the 4th of August 1607, the morrow of her sister's wedding, Lewis Pyne of East Down, in Devonshire.

Elizabeth, baptized at Dunster on the 23rd of March 1593, and buried there on the 21st of May 1595.

Susan, baptized at Dunster on the 9th of October 1594. She married there, on the 29th of June 1612, John Francis of Combe Florey.²

Elizabeth, baptized at Dunster on the 3rd of October 1598. In March 1621[-2], George Luttrell, her father, made a formal declaration that he was willing that she should have the sum of 1,400*l.* bequeathed to her by her mother Joan, provided that she did not marry a Popish Recusant or the son of a Popish Recusant, or any other without his own consent, or, after his death, the consent of Thomas Wyndham of Kentsford, John Francis and Richard Worth, or two of them. In the event of her disregarding this injunction, the money was to be divided between her nieces named Trevelyan and her brother-in-law John Francis.³ She nevertheless married, in that year, Thomas Arundel of Chideock in Dorset, a member of a noted Roman Catholic family.

Sarah, baptized at Dunster on the 3rd of April 1600. She inherited 200*l.* from her mother, and in her case George Luttrell did not think it necessary to make any stipulation about the choice of a husband.⁴ She married at Dunster, on the 9th of

¹ D.C.M. xxxviii. 93 (Prynne).

² *Ibid.* xxxviii. 95.

³ D.C.M. xxxviii. 97.

⁴ D.C.M. xxxviii. 97, 98.

February 1625, Edmund Bowyer of Beer near Cannington.¹ She was buried at Stockland, on the 17th of May 1664.

Mary, buried at Dunster on the 24th of March 1608.

About ten months after the death of his wife, George Luttrell of Dunster Castle was married at East Quantockshead, on the 3rd of October 1622, to "an obscure person," Silvestra daughter of James Capps of Jews in the parish of Wiveliscombe. She was the mother of Sarah Luttrell *alias* Capps, and Diana Luttrell *alias* Capps, for both of whom he made ample provision in his lifetime and to each of whom he bequeathed 500*l.* at the age of twenty-one or on marriage.² The former married Alexander Keynes. The latter married John Wogan, of Pembrokeshire, at East Quantockshead, in 1634, and married secondly Alexander Lynde.³ Silvestra Luttrell had for her jointure the manors of Kilton and East Quantockshead.⁴ A leaden pipe-head at the latter place bears her initials with those of her husband, and the date 1628.⁵ The whole house had apparently been altered for her benefit. The arms of Luttrell impaling those of Capps are also to be seen at the *Luttrell Arms Hotel* at Dunster. Some nine months after the death of her husband, on the 15th of January, 1630, Silvestra Luttrell was married at East Quantockshead to Sir Edmund Skory. The union did not prove happy, as appears by his will dated the 4th of May 1632. By this he bequeaths 20*s.* "to Giles Baker, my servant, who hath lived under the tyranny of my wife, to the danger of his

¹ Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. iv. p. 82.

² *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 17; D.C.M. xxxviii. 100.

³ D.C.M. III. 12; xxxviii. 103, 104;

Hancock's *Minchhead*, p. 213, where the name is wrongly given as Lyne and Lyde.

⁴ D.C.M. III. 5; xxiii. 45.

⁵ See the woodcut on page 185.

life, during the space of two years." He also bequeaths "to Dame Silvestre Skory, my wife, whom I hartely forgive all her wicked attempts against mee, a praier booke called *The Practice of Piety*, desiring that she better love and affect the same than hitherto she hath done." The widow tried in vain to prove that the testator was of unsound mind.¹ Nevertheless she secured a third husband in the person of Giles Penny, whom she married at East Quantockshead in 1634. Her stepson, Thomas Luttrell, bore her no love, and brought a suit against her for damage to his deer and timber at East Quantockshead.² She was in possession of the manor-house there as late as the year 1655, having survived the son and the grandson of her first husband.³

THOMAS LUTTRELL, son and heir of George, was baptized at Dunster, on the 26th of February 1584. He matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1597 and became B.A. in 1599. He was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn in 1604. He did not marry until 1621, when he took to wife Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Popham, of Littlecote, in Wiltshire, an active politician.⁴ The arms of Luttrell, impaled with those of Popham may be seen at Marshwood, and it is probable that Thomas Luttrell lived there until the death of his father in 1629. He was returned Member for Minehead in 1625, but at subsequent elections his influence there seems to have been exerted in favour of different members of his wife's family, who espoused the Parliamentary side in the reign of Charles the First.⁵ He was Sheriff of Somerset in

¹ Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. v. p. 66.

² Chancery Proceedings, Series II. bundle 408, no. 43.

³ P.C.C. Aylett, f. 185.

⁴ D.C.M. III. 4, 6.

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xlv. p. 143.

1631.¹ In 1633, we find him associated with other justices of the peace for the county in a protest against the revival of church-ales, clerk-ales and revels.²

Some nine years later, he further displayed his political sympathies by committing to prison at Minehead a notable fugitive, Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, who had given offence by his advocacy of absolutist views.³

At the very outset of the Civil War in August 1642, the Marquess of Hertford went to Somerset to organize the militia for the King, but the county rose against him and drove him from Wells to Sherborne. This place in turn he found to be untenable, and while negotiating, or pretending to negotiate, for a surrender, he broke out with about four hundred followers, on the 19th of September, and directed his course to Minehead.⁴ The Earl of Bedford, commanding for the Parliament, at once issued warrants for the apprehension of any of the party, and sent off posts to Thomas Luttrell, bidding him strengthen and make good his castle at Dunster.⁵ This order was promptly obeyed, and Thomas Luttrell increased his garrison by a hundred men. Anticipating moreover that the Royalists would endeavour to cross over to Wales, he caused the rudders of all the ships in Minehead harbour to be removed.⁶

On arriving at Minehead, Lord Hertford fortified himself in a "strong inn," and then despatched sixty of Sir Ralph Hopton's men to demand entrance into Dunster Castle. They met, however, with a peremptory refusal, and as, after some parley, they would not

¹ *List of Sheriffs*, p. 125.

² S. P. Dom. Charles 1. vol. 255, no. 39.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm. Report v. p. 35; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.

xxxvi. p. 104.

⁴ *England's Memorable Accidents*.

⁵ *Special Passages*.

⁶ *England's Memorable Accidents*.

go away, Mrs. Luttrell commanded the men within the Castle to "give fire." It was in vain that the Royalist officer ordered them to disregard her, and when Mrs. Luttrell again commanded them "upon their lives to do it," they opened fire, and the cavaliers beat a hasty retreat.¹

Eventually, the King's infantry and artillery escaped in some coalships to Wales, while the cavalry went further westward. The Parliamentary party were, however, apprehensive that the Royalists would return suddenly, and by surprise get possession of Dunster Castle, from which it was thought that ten thousand men could hardly dislodge them. Proposals were accordingly made for raising horse and foot to guard it, but the "very thoughts" of such a measure caused the peaceable men of Minehead to give a very cold reception to Lord Bedford when he arrived in pursuit. He himself took up his quarters at Dunster Castle for a short time.²

Lord Hertford was much vexed at his "disastrous fortune at Minieard and Dunster" and wrote a stinging letter to Sir Ralph Hopton, attributing it to the "evill dispositions and cowardly behaviour" of the west-countrymen serving under him, under Captain Digby and under Sir John Stawell, who ran away, endangering the persons of their officers and all the ordnance. Sir Ralph in reply vindicated the courage of his men, declaring that they would not "runne or give one foot of ground" to any foreign invader, but that it was "not warrantable by God's lawes" for men to fight against their own kindred.³ As the Civil War progressed, he must have found it necessary to modify his humane and peaceable sentiments.

¹ *Special Passages.*

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Report iv. pp.

304, 308; *Special Passages.*

³ *New plots discovered.*

Early in January 1643, the Welshmen gave trouble on the coast of Somerset. Some of them blockaded Minehead harbour, and, by preventing the entry of any ships or boats, stopped the supply of provisions and coal. Others, about five hundred in number, under Captain Paulet, landed there, "invaded" the county, and "constrained the inhabitants to yield to any taxation and to submit themselves servants and slaves to every poor, base companion, to save their throats from being cut." This party made an attack upon Dunster Castle, but Thomas Luttrell, being prepared, was able to repulse them and secure the town from plunder. The fighting cannot have been very serious, for when a shot from the Castle killed some of the assailants, Captain Paulet was moved to wrath and vowed that he would quarter the murderer and hang his limbs on the battlements as food for ravens. In point of fact he moved on to Barnstaple, with two hundred musketeers and forty horsemen.¹

In May 1643, we find Thomas Luttrell issuing a pass for his niece Margaret Trevelyan to cross over to Wales, and he afterwards promised to assist her husband, George Trevelyan, if he would compound for his delinquency and not persist in his "former disobedience unto the Parliament."²

When military operations seemed for the time more favourable to the Royalist cause, Thomas Luttrell began to have doubts as to the wisdom of the course that he had pursued, and Francis Wyndham was able to report that he "found good inclinations in him" to deliver up his castle, although he was "much distracted and disturbed" by some persons near him, the most powerful of whom was doubtless his wife.³

¹ *Special Privileges*.

² *Trevelyan Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 234.

152, 152.

³ *Fullum Climo* (S.R.S.), p. 48.

Clarendon relates that, in the middle of June 1643, the Marquess of Hertford obtained possession of Taunton and Bridgewater in three days, and proceeds :—

“ Dunstar Castle, so much stronger than both the other that it could not have been forced, yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Lutterel, was, with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the King ; into which the Marquis put in him that took it as Governor, as he well deserved. ”¹

Thomas Luttrell was moreover compelled to pay a large sum, either as a fine or as a proof of devotion to the Royalist cause. There is at Dunster a significant little receipt as follows :—

“ xxiiijth die Junii 1643. Receaved the day and yeare above written to his Majesties use by me Edward Kyrton, Esq. Treasurar for the army under the comaund of the right honorable the Marquesse of Hertford, Liffenant Generall of his Majesties forces in the west, of Thomas Luttrell of Dunstar Castle in the county of Somerset, Esq. the summe of five hundred powndes, in part of payment of the summe of one thousand powndes which the said Mr. Luttrell is to pay towards the charge of the said army. I say receaved, Edw. Kyrton. ”

Whether Thomas Luttrell was after this suffered to remain in his own castle does not appear. He died a few months later, and was buried at Dunster on the 7th of February 1644. There is at Dunster Castle a portrait on panel dating from the later part of the reign of James the First, which probably represents this Thomas Luttrell. The subject of it has long hair and a short beard. He is attired in a light green doublet and trunk hose, with a falling collar edged with lace,

¹ *History of the Rebellion*, (ed. 1826) vol. iv. p. 110.

and white cuffs. There is a black hat under the right arm and a sword under the other. Thomas and Jane Luttrell had issue four sons and a daughter :—

Alexander, born in 1622 and so called after his uncle Alexander Popham. He matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1637, and, while still under age, was elected to represent Minehead in the Parliament of 1640, but he died before his father, some two or three years later.

George, heir to his father.

Thomas, baptized at Dunster on the 8th of March 1627, and buried there on the 2nd of April.

Francis, baptized at Dunster on the 1st of November 1628, and so called after his grandfather, Sir Francis Popham. He eventually succeeded his brother George.

Amy, baptized at Dunster, on the 26th of June 1630. She married firstly Thomas Hele of South Petherton, and secondly George Reynell of Kingsbridge, in Devonshire.¹

Within a few days of the death of Thomas Luttrell, his relict was compelled to pay a large sum to the Crown, as appears by the following receipt :—

“ 13th February 1643. Then received of Mrs. Jane Luttrell the summe of fiveteene hundred pounds, as soe much due to his Majestie for the fyne of her selfe and her two sonnes ; I say received for his Majestie's service the day and yeere above written the summe of 1500, by me Francis Hawley. ”

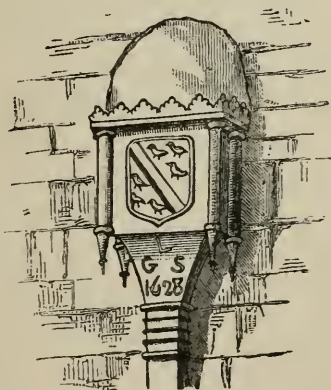
The person who gave it was merely an officer in the Royalist Army, but the payment might possibly be regarded as the purchase money for the wardship of

¹ *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, vol. ii. p. 230.

the heir of the Dunster estate, who was a minor at the time of his father's death. A few weeks later, there is another acquittance :—

“25^{to} die Marcii 1644, anno regni Regis Caroli 19°. Received then of Mistriss Jane Luttrell the summe of three score pownds in parte of payment of one hundred pownds which she was to pay by way of loane upon His Majestie's lettre in the nature of a privie seale for His Majestie's service. I say received. Per me William Prowse, deput' vicecomitis.”

Jane Luttrell must have been loth indeed to furnish money for the party which she and her relations had so steadily opposed. In later and happier times, she lived at Marshwood, where she hoarded her savings, as will appear hereafter. She was buried at Dunster in November 1668.



PIPE-HEAD AT
EAST QUANTOCKSHEAD.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER

1644—1737.

George Luttrell, son and successor of Thomas, was baptized at Dunster on the 12th of September 1625. Nothing is known about him in his early years, but it may safely be assumed that his mother would not have allowed him to go to Oxford to mix with young Cavaliers. At the time of his father's death, Dunster Castle was occupied by a royalist garrison, and the manor-house at East Quantockshead was in the possession of Lady Skory, no friend to the Luttrells. A smaller house at Marshwood was, however, available for the widow and her children.

In the middle of May 1645, Charles the First gave orders that the Prince of Wales should take up his residence for a while at Dunster Castle, to "encourage the new levies," it being "not known at Court that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunster town, just under the walls of the Castle." ¹ Clarendon's statement to this effect is strikingly confirmed by the parish register which records the burial of no less than eighty persons at Dunster in that very month. Two of them are described as 'soldiers,' from which it may be inferred that the Castle itself, isolated from the town beneath

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, (ed. 1826) vol. v. p. 189.

it, was not free from the prevailing sickness. At Minehead the death rate in 1645 was about five times that of a normal year.¹ The inhabitants of a long street in Dunster are said to have established communications between their respective houses by making openings in the party walls, "so as to avoid all necessity of going into the open street," whose air was considered dangerous to life.² The Prince, who was then just fifteen years of age, occupied a small room within the room at the south-western end of the Gallery in Dunster Castle.³ After about a fortnight, he proceeded to Barnstaple. The churchwardens' accounts of Minehead for this year contain the following entries :—

" Given the ringers in beere at severall tymes when the Prince and other great men came into the towne, 14s.

" Paid the Prince's footman, which he claymed as due to him for his fee, 5s. 6d. "

At that juncture it might have been imprudent to ignore the Prince's visit. Less than four months afterwards there is an entry in the same book which reflects more faithfully the state of public opinion at Minehead :—

" Paid the ringers when Bristoll was taken, 3s. "

After the reverses of the Royalist party at Langport, Taunton, and Bridgewater, in the summer of 1645, Dunster Castle remained the only place held for the King in Somerset, but, being isolated, it was harmless except as a source of annoyance to the immediate neighbourhood. As it was desirable to stop even this

¹ Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 590.

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv. p. 388. There had been a previous outbreak of the plague at Dunster in 1611,

so serious as to call for charitable aid from other places in the country. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. xxxviii. p. 73.

³ See Chapter XI.

power, Colonel Blake and Colonel Sydenham, taking a small party from Taunton, laid siege to it early in November, and by the 6th had so completely blocked it that its surrender seemed certain, if it were not taken by surprise. Neither of these expectations was realised, for the besieged held out, although by the end of the month they were said to be straitened for provisions and suffering sadly from want of water. It was reported that Colonel Francis Wyndham, the Governor, about the 20th of November, wrote to Lord Goring, then commanding the King's forces in Devon, that he could hold out but a fortnight or three weeks longer, and that he was only enabled to do that through having secured a good supply of water from some late heavy rains.¹ He at least wrote for aid, as in response, Goring sent some foot to Bideford, to be forwarded to Dunster by sea, and a party of horse was got in readiness to march by land to protect them on arrival.² But, not getting their promised pay at Bideford, and finding they were to be out for more than the twenty days agreed for with Lord Hopton, they deserted and ran away. Sir Richard Grenville went after them at once to bring them back, but the plan for this time resulted in failure.³ The design becoming known, Sir Thomas Fairfax stationed some men to command the road and prevent or check the repetition of any similar attempt. Thus when another party endeavoured to pass early in December, the troops who were guarding the roads about Tiverton and Crediton, encountered them and compelled them to return.⁴

Meanwhile Colonel Blake had repeatedly summoned the Governor to surrender, but always receiving a

¹ *Perfect Passages*, No. 56.

² *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 125.

³ *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 38.

⁴ *Weekly Account*.

curt refusal, he had pushed forward his approaches and batteries and worked busily at his mines, as these were "next to determine the business."¹ A summons was again sent in, this time accompanied by a threat that the Castle would be stormed if it were not surrendered. Colonel Wyndham replied that as he had formerly announced his intention to keep his charge to his utmost, so he was still and would continue *semper idem*—always the same.

At the very end of December 1645, or about the 1st of January 1646, a story was circulated by the royalist party at Oxford, on the reported authority of two men supposed to have come from Dunster, that the Castle was relieved and the siege raised. The story was that the besiegers, having taken prisoner the Governor's mother, sent in their last summons thus—"If you will yet deliver up the Castle, you shall have faire quarter, if not, expect no mercy; your mother shall be in the front, to receive the first fury of your canon: we expect your answer." The Governor is supposed to reply, "If you doe what you threaten, you do the most barbarous and villanous act [that] was ever done; my mother I honour: but the cause I fight for and the maisters I serve, God and the King, I honour more. Mother, do you forgive me and give me your blessing, and let the Rebells answer for spilling that blood of yours, which I would save with the losse of mine owne, if I had enough for both my master and yourselfe." To this the mother is supposed to answer, "Sonne, I forgive thee, and pray God to blesse thee for this brave resolution; if I live I shall love thee the better for it; God's will be done." The story then adds that just

¹ *Perfect Occurrences.*

at this moment there suddenly appeared Lord Wentworth, Sir Richard Grenville, and Colonel Webb, who, attacking the besiegers, killed many, took a thousand prisoners, rescued the mother, and relieved the Castle.¹

This report is here quoted from its original source; it has been often repeated since, but it was not true. The siege was not raised, the Castle was not relieved at this time, and the supposed chief actors in the affair were then in Cornwall or on the adjoining borders of Devon.² The Parliamentary party soon denounced the report as "alehouse intelligence" and a "feeble lie."³

About the 6th of January 1646, Blake received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred horse, and these he quartered some five or six miles from the Castle, to keep a sharp watch on the Exeter road.⁴ As relief was constantly attempted, these troopers had a very harassing task. The continuance of the siege and the frequent marches and countermarches at this time drew general attention towards Dunster.

As the Governor seemed determined not to surrender, Fairfax wrote to order Colonel Blake to proceed with the siege and spring his mines.⁵ This he did on the 3rd of January, fully expecting to blow up the Castle. But the garrison, aware of what had been going on, had discovered one mine, and had spoilt it by countermining. Another was not fired or did not spring, whilst the third, although it exploded fairly, only destroyed a part of the wall, causing a considerable breach, but making more noise than execution.⁶ The road opened by it was alto-

¹ *Mercurius Academicus*, No. 3.

² *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 136.

³ *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 114.

⁴ *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 44.

⁵ *Perfect Passages*, No. 63.

⁶ *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 44.

gether too steep for approach, and proved so inaccessible that the intended attack could not be made. To the defenders, however, now very short of necessities, the breach proved a great annoyance, as they were put to double duty to keep their guards. In this emergency, Sir Richard Grenville wrote to Colonel Wyndham exhorting him to hold out yet a little longer and promising that help should certainly be sent.¹ Two regiments accordingly set out on the 8th of January, ostensibly to relieve Exeter, but really destined for Dunster. Their plan was either betrayed or discovered by their opponents, for some horse and foot were called from their winter quarters to watch them, and if necessary to go and strengthen Colonel Blake. Seeing that their enemy was thus prepared, and that relief was impossible, the Royalists once more retired, and the blockade of Dunster was continued without interruption until the end of January.

The King's army being cooped up in Devon, the Parliamentary forces gathering in Somerset concluded that it was certainly trapped. A report, however, now came that Goring intended to break through the ring and get his whole force away. Orders were at once sent for the reserves in the rear to be ready to meet such a movement, and Major-General Massey busied himself with making preparations near Crewkerne.² Taking advantage of the attention of the Parliamentary force in Devon being given to this matter, a party of fifteen hundred horse and three hundred foot, sent by Lord Hopton under the command of Colonel Finch, managed to reach Dunster, and on the 5th of February relieved the Castle with four barrels of powder, thirty cows and fifty sheep.

¹ *Weekly Account*, No. 2.

² *Perfect Passages*, No. 65.

Having done this, they spoil the mines and destroyed the works thrown up by the besiegers. Finding the relieving party too strong for him, Colonel Blake on their arrival retired for protection into "a strong house", possibly the *Ship Inn*, and remained there unmolested. As they left for Barnstaple, however, he sallied out on their rear and took fifty-three prisoners, but in turn got himself into an awkward position, from which he had some difficulty in making an honourable retreat without great loss.¹

A report was now circulated that the owner of the Castle, and others had offered to raise a thousand men to help the Parliamentary army in the west,² but Blake determined to continue the blockade until he could be strongly reinforced from the main army. From his local information he may have judged that this would soon be possible, as not long afterwards Exeter fell. Sir Thomas Fairfax then, with his usual energy, quickly moved off for fresh work, and on the 8th of April his army was camped around Chard, from whence he sent Colonel Lambert's regiment to strengthen the force before Dunster.³

Colonel Blake had gone to meet the General, when, on Thursday night, the 16th of April, those in the Castle called to Captain Burridge, who was left in command, to know whether it were true, as some of his soldiers had stated, that Exeter and Barnstaple had both fallen. Captain Burridge "hearkening" to what was said, they asked to be allowed to send to Barnstaple for confirmation of the news, promising that if it were true they would capitulate. The Captain answered "that he would not by any false way

¹ *Perfect Passages*, No. 68; *A Diary*, No. 3; *Moderate, Intelligencer*, No. 49; *The Citties Weekly Post*, No. 9.

² *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 50.

³ *Ibid.* No. 59.

of smooth language goe about to begge their castle," and offered himself as a hostage if they would give one of like rank whilst they sent for intelligence. He declared himself willing to forfeit his life if what he had said was not true, provided they would agree to surrender on a day named if all the news were confirmed. Weak and reduced as the garrison now was, and barely able to defend more than the keep, this conversation "wrought so much upon them" that on Friday morning a request was again made for leave to send for intelligence. Notice having meantime arrived that Blake was returning, Captain Burridge desired them to have a little patience, inasmuch as they should get an answer from the Colonel himself. About noon Blake arrived, having with him Major-General Skippon's regiment and the remainder of his own. This force he drew up in two bodies on a hill facing the Castle, and, in accordance with orders given by Fairfax, he sent in another summons for surrender.¹ Deprived of all hope of relief, Colonel Wyndham in reply demanded a parley, the result of which was that, after having sustained a close siege of about a hundred and sixty days, with a loss of twenty men, he surrendered on the 19th of April, on the following conditions:—

“1. That the Castle, together with the armes, ammunition, and other ferniture of war (except what is hereunder excepted), be delivered up into the hands of the said Colonel Blake for his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, to the use of the King and Parliament.

2. That all Commissioners Officers in the Castle shall march away with horses and armes and all other necessary accouterments appertaining.

3. That common officers and souldiers, both horse and foot, shall march away with their armes and either horse or foot souldier shall have three charges of powder and bullet,

¹ *Sir Thomas Fairfax's further proceedings in the west.*

with three yards of match, for those that have matchlocks, together with colours and drums.

4. That the said Colonell Windham shall carry with him all that is properly his, and that which doth properly belong to the Lady Windham shall be sent to her.

5. That all officers and souldiers with all particular persons of the Castle shall march forth secure, as many as will, to Oxford without delay, and those who are otherwise minded shall lay down their armes and have Let-passes to their homes, or to any other places they shall desire with protection against the violence of the soldiers.

6. That prisoners to either party be released.

7. That the said Colonell Francis Windham and his souldiers march to Oxford in twelve daies.”¹

Under this agreement the Castle was delivered up on the 22nd of April. Six pieces of ordnance and two hundred stand of arms were all the booty found within it. Colonel Blake, writing from Taunton, on the 21st of April, to report the event to the Parliament, remarked that, at the price of time and blood, he could no doubt have obtained very different terms, but that he was induced to accept these, by his wish to follow the exemplary clemency of his general. “The place,” he said, was “strong and of importance for the passage into Ireland.”² A public thanksgiving was now ordered for the many and continued successes of the Parliamentary forces, Dunster being named in the list of places whose capture deserved especial emphasis.³ Minehead, too, rejoiced that her disagreeable neighbour had fallen, and “paid the ringers when Dunster Castle was yeilded up” four shillings and eight pence.⁴

A few of Blake’s cannon balls have been unearthed on the Tor in recent years. His principal battery was,

¹ *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 152; *Four Strong Castles taken*, &c.

² *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 152.

³ *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 144.

⁴ Hancock’s *Minehead*, p. 70.

it is believed, behind the house now called the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*. Another may have been on the north side of the town, as a ball, presumably fired by the defenders of the Castle, was found in the roof of the church some thirty years ago.

John Question of Dunster, surgeon, was in 1647 subjected to a fine of 100*l.* for espousing the Royalist cause, but the amount was eventually reduced to 10*l.* in consideration of the gratuitous services which he had rendered to sick and hurt soldiers serving under Colonel Blake during the siege.¹

A garrison was maintained at Dunster Castle for more than five years after its surrender to Blake. Thus, in October 1649, it was proposed to place 2,000 foot of Somerset in Bridgewater and Dunster Castle.² George Luttrell, although apparently allowed to live in his own house, was made to feel that he was not supreme there, the defences being in the hands of a military governor, Major William Robinson.³ On the 25th of March 1650, nearly fourteen months after the execution of Charles the First, the Council of State resolved :—

“ That it be referred to the Committee which confers with the Officers of the Armie to consider whether or noe Dunster Castle and Taunton Castle, or either of them, are fitt to be demolished, and to report to the Councell their opinions therein.”⁴

On the 6th of May, twelve barrels of gunpowder were issued “ for the supply of Taunton and Dunster Castle,” and, on the 25th of the same month, a further demand of the Governor of Dunster Castle for arms and ammunition was referred to the Committee of the

¹ *Calendar of Committee for advance of money*, p. 815.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1648-1649, p. 300.

³ *Ibid.* 1649-1650, p. 394.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Interregnum. I. 64. f. 120.

Ordinance.¹ The following resolutions are entered in the order-book of the Council of State for the year 1650 :—

6 June. "That a letter bee written to Colonell Desbrow, to let him know that this Councell leaves it to him to put in such number of men into Dunster and Taunton Castles as hee shall thinke fit to secure them."²

5 August. "That it bee refered to the Committee which meets with the Officers of the Armie to take into consideration the present condition of Dunster Castle, and to report to the Council their opinions what they thinke fitt to bee done therein, either as to the makeing it untenable or repairing of it."³

10 August. "At the Committee for Marshall Affaires. Ordered that the Committee, haveing seriously considered the present state of the guarrison at Dunster Castle, and finding that the makeing of it every way teneable against an enemy will require a great summe of money which they conceive the Councell at present cannot well spare, conceive it necessary that the said guarrison be drawne to Taunton, and that the Castle be soe farre slighted as that it may not be made suddainely teneable by an enemy, and that it be referred to Major Generall Desbrow to the Commissioners of the Militia for the county to see this done and to send an account thereof to the Councell."⁴

The work of destruction was set in hand without delay, a rate being levied in Somerset "for pulling downe Dunster Castle."⁵ A communication written on the spot on the 27th of August says :—

"Here hath been above two hundred men working at this Castle these twelve daies about sleighting the same, which is almost finished except the dwelling-house of Mr. Lutterell and the Gatehouse, according to order of the Council of State."⁶

¹ S. P. Dom. Interregnum. I. 64. ff. 312, 389.

² *Ibid.* f. 426.

³ *Ibid.* 1. 8. f. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 70.

⁵ Savage's *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 436.

⁶ *A Perfect Diurnal*, no. 38.

The preservation of such parts of the fabric as still remain is due to a resolution of the Council of State on the 20th of August, which arrived rather late :—

“To write to Major Robinson that Dunster Castle be continued in the condition it is till further order of the Councell, and that there bee twenty or thertie chozen men there for the defence thereof.”¹

Six months later we read :—

“George, son and heire to Thomas, succeded him in his estate. His castle of Dunster and estate being in the enimies’ hands at his father’s death, he enjoyed little thereof till reduced. The walles of his castle of Dunster, Mount Stweevens and a fair new building therin were totally demolished and his gatehouse much defaced, by an order from Whitehall under Mr. Bradshaw his hand, and another from the Malitica, without and before any notice, veiw or recompence, August 8, 1650, to about 3000*l.* dammages, to save the charge of a garrison, and his very mantioned house at first advise to be puld down by the Maliticia, but afterwards countermanded, and twenty souldiers put into his house to gaurd Mr. Prynne close prisoner there.

“His wife is now pregnant. God send her a sonn and heir, a joyfull delivery and numerous happy posterity, to perpetiate the family and name with onner and happines, to God’s glory and the publick welfare of the country and kingdom in their successive genarations till the second coming of Jesus Christ, which is the cordiall option and fervent prayer of the collector of this pedigree. Febr. 18, anno 1650.

WILL. PRYNNE, Esq.”²

The writer of this was one of the chief pamphleteers of his time. Few sentences of the Court of StarChamber had done so much to bring it into disrepute as those by which William Prynne had been condemned to lose both his ears in the pillory, and to be branded on the cheeks with the letters ‘S.L.’ mean-

¹ S.P. Dom. Interregnum, 1.9. f. 13.

² D.C.M. xxxviii. 100.

ing 'Seditious Libeller.' He had taken some revenge on the Government of Charles the First by hounding Archbishop Laud to the scaffold, but he had protested against the execution of the King and had written pamphlets denouncing the regime that had been substituted for the monarchy.

On the 25th of June 1650, the Council of State issued a warrant for the apprehension of William Prynne for writing and practising against the Commonwealth, and for his confinement at Dunster Castle, where nobody was to be allowed to confer with him except in the presence of his gaoler.¹ Finding that the muniments of George Luttrell were in a "confused chaos," he employed his time in making an arrangement of them according to localities, which has been maintained to the present time. He also compiled a general calendar of them, at the end of which there is a characteristic note that it was made "by William Prynne of Swainswick, Esq. in the eight months of his illegall, causeless, close imprisonment in Dunster Castle by Mr. Bradshaw and his companions at Whitehall, Feb. 18, Anno Dom. 1650, 2 Car. II." The obstinacy of the man is shown by his reference to the regnal year of a prince in exile. From Dunster, he was that year removed to Taunton, and thence to Pendennis Castle.² Soon after the Restoration, he was appointed Keeper of the Records at the Tower of London.³

The following letters show the ultimate decision of the Council of State with respect to Dunster Castle :—

"To the Commissioners of the Militia of the County of Somerset.

Gentlemen. Although there appeare not much at present

¹ S.P. Dom. Interregnum, I. 64. f. 481.

² *Ibid.* I. 96. f. 253.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xlv.

of any stirring of the enemy, yet Wee have sure information that they have signes on foot at present of great danger to the Commonwealth and particularly in those parts ; to prevent which Wee think it necessary that such places as are not yet made untenable should have some strength put into them to prevent the enemyes' surprize. And Wee being informed that Dunster Castle, the house of Mr. Lutterell, is yet in condition that if it be seized by the enemy might prove dangerous, Wee therefore desire you to appoint some Militia forces to prevent the surprize of it, till there may be some course taken to make it untenable, or that the state of affairs may not be subject to the like danger as now they are.

Whitehall, 25 March 1651. " ¹

" To Major General Desborowe.

Sir. Wee are informed from Major Robinson, Governour of Taunton and Dunster Castle, that the forces remayning in those garrisons are not sufficient to enable him to preserve the same for the service of the state. Wee therefore desire you to consider those places and the forces in them, and in what you find those forces defective to make supply thereof, that the Governour may be able to give a good accompt thereof to the Commonwealth.

Whitehall, 20 Maie 1651. " ²

" To George Lutterell, Esq. of Dunster Castle.

Sir. Wee conceive it hath been some prejudice to you that your house hath been still continued a garrison, which Wee are willing you should be freed from, soe as the Commonwealth may be assured from danger by it. And Wee doubt not but you will bee carefull to keepe the place from the enemies' surprize in respect of your interest in it. But that Wee may be able to give the Commonwealth a good accompt of that place upon the remove of that garrison, Wee hold fit that you enter recognizance before two justices of the peace with two suretyes to the Keepers of the Liberty of the Commonwealth of England, yourself in 6000*l.* and 3000*l.* each of your suretyes. The condition to bee that you shall not suffer any use to be made of your said house of Dunster Castle to the prejudice of the Commonwealth

¹ S.P. Dom. Interregnum, 196. f. 73.

² *Ibid.* f. 193.

and present Government, which being done, Wee have given order to Major Generall Desborow to draw off the men that are in the same castle and dispose of them as Wee have given order. Wee have had information of designes upon that your Castle, the prevention of the operation whereof hath occasioned our putting of a guard there ; and having now put it into this way wherein Wee have had regard of your conveniency, Wee expect you to be careful of what besides your particular herein, concerns the interest of the publike.

Whitehall, 27 Maii 1651." ²

On the same day, Major-General Desborow was instructed to draw off the twenty men who were quartered at Dunster Castle as soon as George Luttrell should have entered into the recognisances prescribed.

The Government afterwards became so well satisfied of George Luttrell's loyalty to the Commonwealth as to appoint him Sheriff of Somerset, in November 1652. ³ A half-length portrait of Oliver Cromwell in armour, by Robert Walker, still hangs in the hall at Dunster Castle.

George Luttrell married firstly Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Prideaux of Soldon, in Devonshire. The expected heir, for whom Prynne had expressed such solicitude, was born at Dunster on the 18th of April 1651, but lived only a short time, being baptized by the name of George on the 6th of May and buried on the same day. Mrs. Luttrell died on the 22nd of May 1652, and was buried at Dunster the same evening. A few weeks later, on the 15th of July, George Luttrell married her cousin Honora, daughter of John Fortescue of Buckland Filleigh, in Devonshire. As a memorial of their wedding, they gave to the church of Buckland Filleigh a silver flagon bearing their arms, which is still in use. George Luttrell

¹ S. P. Dom. Interregnum, 196. f. 202.

³ *List of Sheriffs*, p. 125.

² *Ibid.* f. 203.

died in 1655, at the age of thirty, without issue. A large sum was expended on his burial, Henry Prigg of Exeter charging 101*l.* for cloth, and Edward Foxwell of the same city charging no less than 159*l.* "for wines for the funerall." Honora, the widow, lived at Exeter.

FRANCIS LUTTRELL, son of Thomas and brother of George succeeded. Of his early years nothing is known except that he was baptized at Dunster on the 1st of November 1628 and admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn in 1646. On the last day of March 1660, he was returned for the neighbouring borough of Minehead to the Parliament which effected the Restoration. He was similarly returned in the following spring and he sat until his death in 1666. There was in his time a project of instituting an 'Order of the Royal Oak' to commemorate the loyalty of the faithful adherents of the House of Stuart, but the King eventually abandoned it as likely to perpetuate political dissensions. A list of suitable persons had, however, been prepared, county by county, and among the fifteen nominated from Somerset we find Francis Luttrell, who was reputed to have an income of 1500*l.*¹ Considering that his relations, Luttrells and Pophams alike, had been Roundheads, the inclusion of his name among those of noted Cavaliers, like Stawell, Berkeley and Gorges, seems strange, but the demolition of the greater part of Dunster Castle by order of the Council of State after the Civil War was over, may have caused a change in his politics.

Francis Luttrell's wife, Lucy, came also of a Roundhead family, being the daughter of Thomas Symonds

¹ Wotton's *English Baronetage* (ed. 5th Series, vol. iv. pp. 49, 151, 238. 1741), vol. iv. p. 374; *Notes and Queries*,

of Whittlesford, in Cambridgeshire, and the granddaughter of John Pym, the great Parliamentary leader. The couple may have met at Charles Pym's house at Brymore, near Bridgewater. The marriage took place on the 8th of October 1655, at Buckland Monachorum in Devonshire, where the bride must have been staying with her aunt, Lady Drake. Four years later, Francis Luttrell made an elaborate settlement with a view to preserving his estates in his own "name and blood," and accordingly conveyed to trustees the castle, manor, and borough of Dunster, the manors of Carhampton Barton, Minehead, Rodhuish, Kilton, East Quantockshead, Withycombe Hadley, Williton Hadley, Vexford and Heathfield Durborough, the priory of Dunster, the hundred of Carhampton, the parks of Dunster, Marshwood and Quantockshead, Marshwood farm, and lands in those and other neighbouring places. These were settled on him for life with successive remainders in tail male to his own sons, to Hugh Luttrell of Rodhuish, gentleman, George Luttrell, gentleman, son of George Luttrell, clerk, Francis Luttrell of Gray's Inn, esquire, Anthony Luttrell of Hartland, esquire, and Southcote Luttrell of Saunton Court, esquire, with the exception of the manor of Heathfield and lands at Venn, Cotford and Norton Fitzwarren, which were reserved for his second son Francis.¹

There are few memorials of the first Francis Luttrell beyond legal documents and bills. In 1663, he paid no less than 4*l.* for "a smale great sadle for a child, of pinck coulored plush trimed with silver lace." At another time a "box of sweetmeates" cost him 7*l.* 16*s.* In 1665, the price of sherry and sack alike

¹ Legal common-place book belonging to Mr. C. E. H. Chadwyck Healey, C.B. f. 33.

was 5*s.* per gallon. The price of claret ranged from 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per 'tearce,' the tearce being a third of a pipe.

Francis Luttrell was buried at Dunster on the 14th of March 1666. By Lucy his wife, who survived, he left issue three sons, Thomas, Francis, and Alexander, each of whom in turn succeeded to his landed estate. The widow, however, was the actual manager of it for some fourteen years.

On the death of Jane Luttrell of Marshwood in 1668, Lucy Luttrell of Dunster became involved in suits at the Somerset Assizes, in the Court of Exchequer, and in the Chancery, on behalf of her youngest son, Alexander, commonly called 'Sany.' The old grandmother had undertaken to provide for the boy and had duly made a will in his favour.¹ "She hoped to make Sany almost as good a man as his elder brother; saying that if his elder brother invited him to dinner, he should be able to invite his elder brother to supper." She seems to have been of a miserly disposition, for, instead of buying land or otherwise investing her money, she amassed "a great treasure of gold, silver, &c." at Marshwood. In 1667, the country people at Stoke Courcy apprehended nine persons well horsed and armed, who confessed before the magistrates a design of robbing her house. At her death, however, only 150*l.* were found there out of about 10,000*l.* that she was believed to have hoarded. At the instigation of Lucy Luttrell, two of the servants were indicted of felony, and at a later stage, she charged her own sister-in-law Amy and her husband, George Reynell, with having caused large sums of money in bags to be secretly removed from Marsh-

¹ Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. vi. p. 18.

wood.¹ The Reynells were eventually condemned in 6000*l.* with 200*l.* costs, and George Reynell was imprisoned successively in the Fleet and the Marshalsea. After his escape from the latter, Lucy Luttrell sued the Marshal and Keeper of the gaol and obtained judgment for the 6,200*l.*

Lucy Luttrell survived until Christmas Eve 1718, and was buried at Dunster on the 7th of January 1719.

THOMAS LUTTRELL, eldest son of Francis and Lucy, was baptized at Dunster on the 19th of March 1657, but he died under age and was buried there on the 20th of July 1670.

FRANCIS LUTTRELL, second son of Francis and Lucy, was baptized at Dunster on the 16th of June 1659. He matriculated at Christ Church in March 1676, but left Oxford without a degree. While he was an undergraduate, there was an idea of buying a peerage for him. Anthony Wood notes under the date of 26 October 1678 :—

“I was told from Sir Thomas Spencer’s house that the King hath given Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxon, a patent for an Earl (which comes to about 1000*l.*) towards the finishing of the great gate of Christ Church next to Pembroke College. He intends to bestow it on Mr. Lutterell, a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, of Somersetshire, having 4000*l.* per annum at present.”²

Francis Luttrell’s income was certainly overstated, and nothing came of the scheme. While he was still under age, he was, in February 1679, returned to Parliament as one of the members for Minehead, and,

¹ State Papers, Charles II. vol. 192, no. 118; vol. 229, no. 151; vol. 272, no. 148.

² Wood’s *Life and Times*, vol. ii. p. 421.

being re-elected at the next four elections, he continued to represent that borough until his death.¹

On the 15th of July 1680, a few weeks after attaining his majority, Francis Luttrell married a beautiful lady, Mary, daughter and heiress of John Tregonwell of Milton Abbas in Dorset. She was wealthy too, having an independent income of 2,500*l.* a year, the capital value of which she estimated at 50,000*l.*

Ten months after his marriage, Francis Luttrell was appointed by the Earl of Winchilsea, Lord Lieutenant of Somerset, to be Colonel of a regiment of foot in succession to Sir Halswell Tynte, and he was in command of the local forces when the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in June 1685.² In this emergency he had recourse to his wife. It had been his habit to give her a guinea or broad piece of gold whenever any of his tenants paid a fine for the renewal of a lease, and so she had accumulated about 500*l.* at Dunster Castle. From this hoard she then withdrew about 200*l.* for his assistance.³ He was, however, obliged to evacuate Taunton on the approach of the Duke, who there assumed the title of King.

On the third day after the battle of Sedgemoor, the churchwardens of Dunster paid 7*s.* 6*d.* to the ringers "upon the rout of Monmouth." The churchwardens and the overseers alike incurred a small expense in "presenting the rebels" at Stogumber, and three men were hanged at Dunster after the "Bloody Assizes."

In the later part of the short reign of James the Second, Francis Luttrell was no longer to be reckoned as one of his supporters. In 1687, he declined to

¹ *Return of Members of Parliament.*

³ Chancery Proceedings, Mitford 538,

² Historical MSS. Commission, Report iii. p. 96. no. 2.

vote for the repeal of the penal laws, and he was one of the first men of importance to join the standard of the Prince of Orange at Exeter in November 1688.¹ Receiving from him a commission to raise an independent company of foot, he applied himself to the task with such energy that he collected the necessary men in the course of three days, and he maintained them at his own expense for a fortnight. The local tradesmen, however, took advantage of his haste, and charged him 1,500*l.* for clothes which soon proved worthless.² In the following February, several companies were amalgamated into a regular regiment of the line, and he was appointed to be its first Colonel. Most of the officers belonged to families well known in Somerset and Devon such as Northcote, Malet, Bowyer, Wyndham, Coward, Dodington, Prater, Sydenham, Stocker and Hancock. After going for a time to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, the regiment took up its quarters at Plymouth. At a later period, it became known as the 'Nineteenth Foot,' and associated with Yorkshire.³ A number of old matchlocks branded with the initials "F.L." are still preserved at Dunster Castle. There is also there an oval portrait of Francis Luttrell in a large brown periwig, with military lace tie and a steel gorget with gilt rivets.

Colonel Luttrell and his wife used to spend very large sums on clothes for themselves, their children, and their servants. A series of bills rendered by William Franklyn of the parish of Covent Garden, tailor, is interesting as illustrating the history of costume and showing in detail the cost of different

¹ Green's *March of William of Orange*, i. p. 168.
pp. 29, 32, 48, 57.

² *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, vol. ³ Cannon's *Historical Record of the Nineteenth Regiment*.



COL. FRANCIS LUTTRELL.

materials, at a time when the purchasing power of money was much greater than it is now. As will be seen by the extracts to be given below, the tailor and the seamstress got comparatively little for their labour.

1681, August. "Making a rich laced cloath suite, 1*l.* 18*s.* Silk and galloone, 5*s.* A pair of scarlett silk stockings with gold, 1*l.* 15*s.* Buckles to the britches, 3*s.* 6*d.* Silk to line the britches, 10*s.* Pocketts and staying tape, 3*s.* 6*d.* A sett of rich gold buttons, 2*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* Rich gold brest buttons, 4*s.* 6*d.* Fine drawing the suite, 3*s.* 6*d.* 2½ yards of superfine gray cloth, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Buckram and canvas, 1*s.* 3*d.* 5½ yards of rich Florence sattin, to line the coate, 4*l.* 14*s.* Scarlett plaine ribbon, 1*l.* 5*s.* 4 yards rich gold and scarlett ribbon, 6*l.* 5*s.* 18 yards rich gold orar lace for coate and britches, 18*l.* Gold chaine to the suite, 14*s.* 9*d.* Rich gold needle for the gloves, 10*l.* 5*s.* A pair of gloves, makeing and faceing, 9*s.* A scarlett fether, 1*l.* 8*s.* Rich needle gold fring for a scarffe, 35*l.* 5*s.* Silk for the scarffe and makeing itt, 18*s.*"

In March 1682, there are charges for "a light colloured cloath suite," made of "superfine Spanish cloath att 20*s.* per yard," on which were no less than "12 dozen of rich gold buttons at 4*s.* 6*d.* per dozen," besides "gold buttons for the britches" costing 3*s.* 6*d.* On the same day, Franklyn supplied "a sad colloured suite," which also had "12 dozen of rich gold buttons" as before, and "5 dozen of gold brest ditto for wast[coat] and britches," the latter evidently small and costing only 10*s.* or 2*s.* a dozen. The "sad colloured gold and silver ribbon for shoulder and sword" cost 2*l.* 10*s.* "Rich broad gold orace lace for the wast[coat] and hands of the coate" cost 7*l.*

Some three weeks later, particulars are given of "a druggitt suite." The material cost only 5*s.* a yard, but it must have been narrow, as eight yards were required. A similar quantity was used a month

later in making "a stuffe suite" but the "fine stuffe" cost 9s. 9d. a yard. On this there were "11 dozen of silver and silk buttons" costing 1l. 18s. 6d. and "3½ dozen of small buttons" costing 4s. 6d. "A sett of figured 10d. ribbon for sword, shoulder and hand knotts," belonging to it, cost 3l. 4s. and "2 dozen of pinck and green 16d. ribbon cost 1l. 12s."

In August, Colonel Luttrell ordered another "stuffe suite," and in October another "cloath suite," made of "fine Spanish cloath att 20s. per yard." "A long wastcoate" to be worn with the latter required 4½ yards of "Florence sattin" at 13s. per yard. In November, he had "a cloath rideing coate" made of "fine Spanish drabdebery¹ att 20s. per yard," lined with "blew fine rateene," and ornamented with "larg silver plate buttons" that cost 3l. 10s.

In April 1683, Colonel Luttrell ordered two suits. One of them was made of "light cloath" at 20s. a yard and had "gold and silver buttons" costing 1l. 16s. and silver trimmings. The other was made of "fine stuff," apparently very narrow, costing 7s. a yard. In July, he ordered a coat of "gray cloath" at 16s. a yard, lined with "Florence sarcenett," and a pair of "buffe britches."

By 1685, male costume seems to have become rather simpler, the number and cost of buttons having been greatly reduced. A coat made in November of that year of "fine French ratteen" at 20s. a yard, had facings of striped satin to the "hands," or cuffs. The breeches worn with it were of "black floward velvet." A "cloath suite" made in the same month had only a few "silke buttons" costing 8s. and the stockings were only of "wosted." On the other hand, the

¹ Drap de Berry, woollen cloth as made in Berry in France.

waistcoat required " $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards of blew Florence damask " costing 3*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* and there was 5*l.* worth of gold lace on it and on the " cuffs " of the coat. A drugget coat made in June 1686 was worn over a silk waistcoat trimmed with broad silver lace costing 2*l.* 10*s.* and breeches of " rich damaske " of colours unspecified. A riding coat of " drabdubery " had velvet facings to the sleeves and the neck.

In September 1687, Colonel Luttrell had a coat of " fine Segovia serge " adorned with " rich black and gold lace," a waistcoat of " scarlet ratteene," breeches of " rich scarlett velvett," and a pair of fine worsted stockings. In January 1689, he had a coat of fine blue cloth, lined with " black rasdejane," a " black ratteene wastcoat " and breeches of " black flowered velvett." The buttons were of black silk and inexpensive. A waistcoat of white and gold silk cost 17*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*, in April, 1689, the material alone being reckoned at 55*s.* a yard. In that month there were extra charges on a uniform apparently supplied by the Government:—

" To pay for the lining of your imbroydered coat, being of richer sattin and much better than the lining of the other officers 1*l.* 6*s.* To pay for blew cloth for your coat, being much better than the other officers, 10*s.* "

In June, Franklyn himself supplied a coat of scarlet cloth, adorned with " 9 dozen rich double water gilt buttons " at 10*s.* a dozen, a waistcoat of " India camlett " " with loops all over " of blue and gold, and velvet breeches. The following items occur at various dates between 1681 and 1689 :—

" A morning gowne, 4*l.* 12*s.*
6 pair of the best jessimy gloves, 15*s.*
A set of sterling plate buttons, 5*l.*
A dozen of carr whips, 1*l.* 6*s.*

6 hunting whips, 12s.
 A leading pike with a gold head, 1l. 12s.
 A pattison (*i.e.* partizan), 1l. 8s.
 A gold sword, 3l. 7s.
 2 lace cravatts and ruffles, 13l. 10s.
 2 pair of stifned gloves faced, 12s.
 A white bever, 3l. 4s. 6d.
 A black French hat edged with gold, and a gold hat-band, 17s.
 A black French hat, plaine, 13s.
 Laid out in receiving a thousand pounds for you, 1l.
 A gold belt, 2l. 17s. 6d.
 4 pair of fine gloves, 15s. 6d.
 2 pair of perfumed gloves, 19s. 6d.
 3 fine long lace cravatts, 10l.
 A black bever, 3 guinneys, 3l. 4s. 6d.
 A Venetian morning gowne lined with blew sattin, cap, and sleepers, 7l.
 2 pair of doeskin gloves, 6s. Trimming them and faceing, 3s.
 A lead combe, 2s.
 A rich Gould neckcloth, 1l. 1s. 6d. Two wrought Gould dittos, 1l.
 3 fine whippis, 1l. 10s.
 3 cane whippis, 10s.
 A black Carolina hatt and band, 13s.
 A case of French rasors, 1l. 1s. 6d.
 Half a pound of snuffe, 1l. 8s. "

Franklyn's bills for goods supplied to Mrs. Luttrell begin about the time of the birth of her eldest daughter. The following are some of the items:—

1681, October 10. " A suite of lace childbed linen, mantle and apron, 10l. Broad fine lace, 6l. 10s. 7 yards broad fine lace, 30s. per yard, 10l. 10s. 6 yards of broad fine lace att 22s. per yard, 6l. 12s.
 A bone lace night raile, 6l. 6s. A cornet and coife, 6l. 5s.
 A childbed suite of fine holland, 1l. A pair of bone lace ruffles, 2l.
 A silver porringer and spoone, 1l. 5s.
 Another suite of fine lace linnen, 6l. 10s.
 Damask and diaper for clouts, 12l. 15s.

A lace holland wastcoate, 3*l.* 12*s.*

Damask mantle sleeves night wastcoate, cap and rowlers, 2*l.* 15*s.*

A pair of rich silk bodyes and sleeves, 2*l.* 18*s.*

Paid for the cradle, bolster, pillow, and quilt of white imbroidered sattin, 16*l.*

A white sattin bed quilt, 3*l.* 10*s.*

An allamode hood, 9*s.*

A rich gold fringe for a petticoate, 12*l.* 10*s.*

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards of lace for the tylight (*i. e.* toilette), at 18*s.* per yard, 6*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

18 yards of rich white sattin and gold floured silk for the gowne and pettycoate at 26*s.* per yard, 23*l.* 8*s.* Making the gowne and pettycoate, 12*s.*

Cherry colloured manto to line the gowne, 2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

3 yards of cherry and gold flowred silk for the twylight (*i. e.* toilette), at 33*s.* per yard, 4*l.* 19*s.*

3 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards of rich cherry gold and silver flowred silk for a mantle, at 38*s.* per yard, 6*l.* 3*s.* Florence sarcenett to line all three mantles, 3*l.* White Florence sattin to make a mantle, 4*l.* 6*s.* Makeing the two mantles and tweelight with broad lace, 1*l.*

A pair of silk sleepers, 8*s.* 6*d.*

Flourishes for pointe, 11*s.* "

October 11. " 2 yards of lace for a pillowber, 1*l.* 12*s.*

A chest of drawers, Prince wood, 4*l.* 10*s.*

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards of silver lace, 13*s.* per yard, 4*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* "

1682, January 2. " A fine cornett (*i. e.* coronet), 8*s.*

2 papers of patches, 2*s.*

A flowred roule, 4*s.*

A crimson topknott, 2*s.* 6*d.*

A sett of fillagreene, 6*l.* 11*s.* "

February 19. " A white allamode hood, 9*s.*

2 dimity wastcoates, 3*s.* 6*d.* 2 silk wastcoates, 3*l.* 10*s.* "

April 24. " 22 yards of black French fine gause, at 4*s.* 6*d.* per yard, 4*l.* 19*s.*

A suite of blew sattin knots, gloves, and girdle, 4*l.* "

May 8. " A pair of cherry and gold lace shoose, 15*s.*

A pair of black and silver fringe shoose, 15*s.*

Makeing a rich gold and white pettycoate, 6s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards of rich gold and white silk, att 3*l.* 15*s.* per yard, 22*l.* 19. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* A dozen of white kid leather gloves, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*”

July 29. “4 pair of clouded silk stockings, 2*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*”

November 10. “For ivory tools for point worke, 3*s.*

A fine rich lace night rayle, 7*l.* 4*s.*

Fine bone lace for a hood, 5*l.* Fine bone lace for a quoife, 1*l.* Fine bone lace for an apron, 3*l.* Fine bone lace for a cap, 1*l.* 5*s.*”

November 18. “5 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cherry colloured mantow att 12*s.* 6*d.* per yard, 3*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

6 pair of white gloves, 11*s.* 6*d.* 3 pair of jessimy gloves, 7*s.* 6*d.* 3 pair of Genoa gloves, 10*s.* 6*d.*”

1683, May 2. “A colberteene wyre, 10*s.* 6*d.*”¹

July 7. “A rideing cravatt, 1*l.* 15*s.*

A whole head of haire, 1*l.* 15*s.*

A box of sweet meates, 6*l.* 5*s.*

10 yards of spotted lutestring, at 7*s.* 6*d.* per yard, 3*l.* 15*d.*

Makeing a camlett rideing coate, 8*s.* 9 dozen of greene and silver buttons, 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of fine hair camlett, at 9*s.* per yard, 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Green Florence sarcenett to line, 2*l.* 3*s.* A greene and white feather, 1*l.* 3*s.*”

August 4. “6 pair of white gloves, 10*s.* 7 pair of rich Roman gloves, 1*l.* 8*s.*”

August 24. “A pair of shamy gloves, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Makeing a crape mantua, 4*s.* 6*d.* 20 yards of fine crape at 2*s.* 6*d.* per yard, 2*l.* 10*s.* Makeing a crape peaticote and ribbon, 4*s.* 6*d.*

A pair of black cloth shoose, 5*s.*

A black feather fann at 12*s.*

A pair of black sattin staves with all appurtenances, 1*l.* 10*s.*”

December 18. “A fine ermin tippet and fine sable muffle, at four guineyes, 4*l.* 6*s.*”

1685, December 1. “Paid then to Mr. Coap att the *Black Lyon* for silke bought against the Coronation, 24*l.* 4*s.*”

1686, February 23. “A paire of gould tabby staves, 2*l.*”

1688, March 1. “A bottle of orange flower water, 4*s.*”

¹ Colbertine, ‘a lace resembling network,’ so called after Coblert.

July 25. "Makeing a sultaine, 1*l.* 10*s.* Paid for greene lutestring for the neck and pocketts, 6*s.* Paid for silver lace and buttons, 2*l.* 18*s.*"

At this last date, Mrs. Luttrell's debt to William Franklyn amounted to 819*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* of which 15*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* represented interest on 345*l.* for nine months. Some of the items in the bills were for clothes for her children. Thus we find the following :—

1683, March 17. "A crimson and white silk coate for Master, 1*l.* 18*s.*"

May 2. "Making a greene silk coate for Master, 8*s.* 4 yards of rich Itallian silk at 11*s.* per yard, 2*l.* 4*s.*"

August 22. "Paid for makeing 2 silver coates, 1*l.* 4*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards of rich gold and silver silke for both coates, at 33*s.* per yard, 16*l.* 18*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*"

1686, April 24. "For makeing three children's coates, 1*l.* 10*s.* For 20 yards of stript and floward silke at 11*s.* 6*d.* per yard, 11*l.* 10*s.*"

1687, April 2. "A black caster for Master, 15*s.* Makeing of 3 velvett coats for the children, 1*l.* 15*s.* 24 yards stri[ped] scarlett velvett, at 16*s.* 6*d.* 19*l.* 16*s.* 9 yards scarlett stri[ped] silk to face them, at 5*s.* 6*d.* 2*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*"

1688, May 5. "Makeing 4 children's coats, with all things to them, 2*l.* 15*s.* 35 yards flowered waved silk for the coats, at 12*s.* 21*l.*

Gold tabby to face Master's sleeves, 7*s.*"

1690, May 29. "For a pair of blew stript silk stays for Miss Mary, 1*l.* 5*s.* For making her a rich manto and pettycoat of the same trimmed with silver fringe and foot, 15*s.* For thirteen yards and half of silk stript with bloom and silver, at 15*s.* per yard, 10*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* For 9 ounces and $\frac{1}{2}$ of silver fringe and foot, at 4*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, 2*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*"

Colonel Luttrell was of course responsible for the liveries of the men in his service. The following are samples of the entries relating to them :—

1683, June 26. "Makeing of seven liveries laced, 5*l.*

Silk galloone and lineing the britches, 2*l*. Seven pair of stockings, 1*l*. 15*s*. Ribbon to tye the knees, 7*s*. 6*d*. Pockets, staying tape, canvas and buckram, 1*l*. 20 yards of gray cloath, at 10*s*. per yard, 10*l*. Yellow padoway to line six coates, 3*l*. 16*s*. Silk to line the page's coate, 10*s*. Silk to make the wastcote and lineing, 18*s*. 6 black lacker hatts, 3*l*. A black caster for the page, 13*s*. 151 yards of black and gold lace for the 7 liveries, at 6*s*. per yard, 45*l*. 6*s*. Black and gold chaine for the 7 liveries, 4*l*. 10*s*. Black and gold buttons for them 5*l*. 10*s*. Ribbons for the liveries, 1*l*. 18*s*."

From other similar entries it appears that the black and gold buttons cost about 1*s*. 9*d*. per dozen, so that 5*l*. 10*s*. would represent about 750 buttons for the seven liveries.

In 1677, the churchwardens of Dunster paid 6*d*. to "Mr. Luttrell's huntsman for killing three hedgehogs."

There is a detailed list of the plate at Dunster Castle in 1690:—

"Sixteen silver hafted knives, twenty and three spoones, eighteen forkes, twelve small salts, one great salt, six tumblers, two tankards, two great cupps with covers, six guilt cupps, one flatt sugar box guilt, one round sugar box guilt, one pepper box, one mustard box, three chafeing dishes, four stands, one large spoone, one bason and ewere, two mazarines, six chargers, three dozen of trencher plates, three caudle cupps and three covers, two ladles, one small spoone, one ring for sweete meats, seaven plates belonging to the ring, one pye plate, two salvers, one coffee pott, six candlesticks, three snuffer panns, three paire of snuffers, two chamber potts, tenn basons, one warming pann."

The whole was valued at the time at 652*l*. Even if none of the pieces dated beyond the reign of Charles the Second, they would nowadays be very highly prized. It will be observed that there were two silver plates for each fork, the plates being changeable once in the course of dinner, while one fork was con-



MARY LUTTRELL.
(LADY BANCKS).

sidered sufficient for the whole meal. In addition to his plate of silver and silver-gilt, Colonel Luttrell had great quantity of pewter.

Mary Luttrell, his wife, had many jewels, one of which was reported to be worth 800*l.*, a great sum in those days, but this was an exaggeration. Some of these ornaments had come to her from her mother, the daughter of a former Lord Mayor of London; others were presents from her husband. Thus she had a picture of him set in gold with diamonds round it, a "crosiatt" of diamonds, and a diamond necklace.¹ She is represented without any jewellery in an oval portrait at Dunster Castle, painted as a companion to that of her husband mentioned above.

Colonel Francis Luttrell died at Plymouth on the 25th of July 1690, at the age of thirty-one. Unconscious or regardless of the condition of his affairs, the widow caused his body to be removed to Dunster for interment, and so spent the then considerable sum of 300*l.* on his funeral. The hatchment painted on this occasion is still in existence. Colonel Luttrell had issue four children:—

Tregonwell, his heir.

Mary, born on the 25th of November 1681, and baptized on the 20th of December. Under her father's will, she became entitled to 4,000*l.* She married on the 21st of January 1701, a widower, Sir George Rooke, the celebrated admiral. Dying in childbed about eighteen months later, she was buried at Horton in Kent.² Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark stood as god-parents to her infant.

Jane, baptized at Milton Abbas, on the 19th of

¹ Chancery Proceedings, Milford
538, no. 2.

² *Musgrave's Obituary.*

August 1684, and buried at Dunster on the 14th of November, 1688.

Frances, born on the 17th of April 1688 and baptized at Dunster. She married firstly, about Christmas 1705, Edward Harvey, and secondly Edward Ashe of Heytesbury. Like her elder sister, she was entitled to 4,000*l.* under the will of her father.

The untimely death of Francis Luttrell gave rise to a great deal of trouble. In the first place there was a contest in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury between his relict Mary and his brother Alexander, guardian of the three children all under age. It was not until March 1693 that the widow and executrix undertook the administration of the personal estate.¹ Then creditors began to make their voices heard. According to one statement, the debts amounted to 12,000*l.* in addition to a sum of 10,000*l.* due to Alexander Luttrell. Sir William Wyndham's loan of 4,000*l.* was secured upon the manor of Beggarnhuish and other lands, part of the ancient inheritance of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead, and these accordingly passed away from the family. Debts secured by judgment ranked next, but there were various creditors who stood in to lose heavily, the bulk of the real property being strictly entailed. Servants' wages had not been paid for years. Mary Luttrell, the widow, moreover, had a jointure of 1,500*l.* a year which she was not at all disposed to forego. Several members of the Dyke family who had a claim upon her late husband's personal estate, retaliated by contending that her jewels should be reckoned as part of it. Although a minute inventory was made of the contents of Dunster Castle, little or nothing seems to

¹ P.C.C. Coker. f. 40.

have been actually sold.¹ Under the will of Colonel Francis Luttrell, the widow was entitled to a life-interest in all his furniture, and it is not unlikely that she gave some of her own money to rescue it from the creditors. A few family portraits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still survive at Dunster Castle. The fate of other moveables is briefly recorded in the diary of Narcissus Luttrell under the date of 19 November 1696:—

“Yesterday morning a sudden fire hapned in Mrs Luttrell’s house in St. James’s Street, being newly and richly furnished, which burnt it to the ground, the lady herself narrowly escaping, and ’tis said she lost in plate, jewels, &c. to the value of 10,000*l*.”

Tradition says that nothing was saved but one diamond ring. A few weeks after this catastrophe, Mrs. Luttrell married Jacob Bancks, a Swede by birth, who held a commission as Captain in the English navy.² According to one story, he had helped to rescue her from the flames. He was knighted in 1699, and, through the Luttrell influence, he was elected to represent Minehead in nine successive Parliaments. ‘Sir Jacob’s bowl’ will be mentioned hereafter.³ Lady Bancks died of small-pox on the 2nd of March 1704, and was buried at Milton Abbas, where there is a monument to her memory. Five months later, her husband entered into a curious arrangement with the wife of Alexander Luttrell of Dunster Castle, the particulars of which are given in his own writing:—

“I doe accnouledge to have receivd the summ off five guineas to pay Miss^{is} Doroty Luttrell the summ of fifty guineas in case I doe marie after the 14th day of Agust

¹ Chancery Proceedings, Mitford, 538, no. 2; 546, no. 48.

² *Brief Relation*, vol. iv. pp. 142, 150.

³ Pages 244, 245, below.

1704, in witnes wheroff I have sett my hand this 14th day
 August 1704 afforesed, J. Bancks.

In presens off
 A. Fownes,
 F. Lutterell.
 Ann Fownes. ”

Although the Swede had secured the hand of an English heiress, he clearly was not proficient in writing her native language. It may be noted by the way that he did not marry again. Milton Abbas eventually passed to his second son, and from him to a cousin, a foreigner who was in no way related to the father of Lady Bancks.¹

TREGONWELL LUTTRELL, only son of Francis and Mary, was born on the 12th of February 1683 and baptized at Dunster about a month later. Some notices of the rich clothes that he wore while still an infant have been given above. He was little more than seven years of age at the time of his father's death, and he did not live to obtain actual possession of the ancestral estates. Dying at Sheerness in October 1703, he was buried at Dunster on the last day of that month.² His uncle Alexander then became the head of the Luttrell family.

ALEXANDER LUTTRELL, third son of Francis and Lucy, was baptized at Dunster on the 20th of October 1663. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, in May 1677, when he was under fourteen years of age, but, like his elder brother Francis, he left the University without a degree. In

¹ There is an account of the Bancks family in Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton*, pp. 638-643, derived from Hutchins's *History of Dorset*.

² The newsmongers in London confounded him with his uncle. Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, vol. v. p. 531.

the later part of his academical career, he was concerned in an outrage on the dowager Lady Lovelace which caused some excitement at the time. Lord Bulkeley, Leopold Finch, Luttrell and five other young blades from Christ Church who had been drinking at the *Crown* tavern one evening in June 1681, are stated to have "plucked her out of her coach," calling her by opprobrious names and otherwise misconducting themselves in the street.¹ Before leaving Oxford, Alexander Luttrell had been admitted a student of the Middle Temple, in 1680.

When the independent regiment raised by Colonel Francis Luttrell in November 1688 was put on a regular footing in the following February, his brother Alexander received a definite commission in it as Captain. After the death of the first Colonel, Thomas Erle, who had been in a different regiment, was appointed to succeed him, and Alexander Luttrell was one of several officers who at once resigned in disgust.

When his former Lieutenant-Colonel, William Northcote was placed at the head of a new regiment in February 1694, Alexander Luttrell rejoined him as a Captain. This regiment was disbanded in 1697, but, in 1702, he and several of his brother officers accepted commissions in a regiment of Marines under the command of George Villiers. In December 1703, he was promoted to be Colonel of that regiment, which eventually became known as the 'Thirty-first Foot.'² After the successive deaths of his nephew, Tregonwell Luttrell, and his sister-in-law Lady Bancks, he finally left the army, and he took up his residence at Dunster in 1705.

¹ Wood's *Life and Times*, vol. ii. p. 542.

² Dalton's *English Army Lists*, vol. iii. p. 63.

Alexander Luttrell was returned to Parliament by the borough of Minehead in October 1690, in immediate succession to his elder brother, and he was duly re-elected on six occasions in the course of the next fifteen years. He does not appear to have stood in 1705, when Sir John Trevelyan and Sir Jacob Bancks were returned. At Minehead he spent a good deal of money on the improvement of the harbour, and there was a project of reviving in his favour the office of vice-admiral which had been held by his ancestor, the second Sir Hugh Luttrell, and by his brother Francis Luttrell.

There are at Dunster Castle two half-length portraits of Colonel Alexander Luttrell, in both of which he is depicted in a large periwig and a red gown. He died on the 22nd of September 1711 and was buried at Dunster on the 6th of October. He had married on the 20th of July 1702, at Exminster in Devonshire, Dorothy daughter of Edward Yard of Churston Ferrers in that county. They had issue three children :—

Alexander, heir to his father.

Francis, born on the 9th of April 1709 and baptized at Dunster. He married at Kingswear on the 13th of January 1730, Anne daughter and heiress of Charles Stucley of Plymouth, and they took up their abode at Venn, a house belonging to his elder brother, in the parish of Heathfield. There are at Dunster three portraits of him and one portrait of her. She died on the 30th of October 1731, in the twenty-first year of her age, and a marble monument in memory of her can hardly have been set up in the south-eastern chapel in Dunster Church before he followed her to the grave, dying on the



T. Hudson

ANNE LUTTRELL.
(MRS. PLEYDELL.)

6th of January 1732. Their only child, Anne, married, in 1751, Edmund Morton Pleydell of Milborne St. Andrew and Whatcombe House, in Dorset, and lived to a very great age.¹ There is at Dunster Castle a portrait of her when young, in a black hat with white feathers and a black dress with white sleeves, and a good deal of jewellery.² Dorothy, born in the 10th of May 1707 and baptized at Dunster. She died young.

For twelve years from the death of Colonel Alexander Luttrell, Dorothy his widow managed the Dunster estate on behalf of their eldest son, Alexander. One contemporary describes her as "a very prudent and charitable gentlewoman;" another styles her "the great good lady at the Castle;" and a third, in 1720, speaks of her adding to her "former just, charitable and pious actions" by paying the debts of her brother-in-law, Colonel Francis Luttrell, still outstanding. In 1718, she purchased for her son the advowson of the church of Minehead.³ The changes that she made in and around Dunster Castle will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter. The following little memorandum in her handwriting, made shortly before her death, must not be taken to indicate a miserly disposition:—

"There is in the writing closett 2,300*l.* in money, besides a hundred pound in broad pieces and moyders received by leases." ⁴

No bank existed at that time in which the money could conveniently be deposited.

¹ Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, vol. i. p. 199; vol. ii. p. 600.

² There is a large picture of a lady at Hartwell House in Buckinghamshire and a smaller picture of a lady at Ecton in Northamptonshire, in very similar

hats and dresses. Both of them are known to be by Thomas Hudson.

³ Hancock's *Minehead*, pp. 126, 135.

⁴ Moidores were gold coins of Portugal.

Dorothy Luttrell died on the 19th of November 1723 and was buried in the vault of the Priory Church at Dunster. There is a very pleasing portrait of her at the Castle in primrose satin with blue drapery hanging from the head, painted by Michael Dahl about the time of her marriage.

ALEXANDER LUTTRELL THE SECOND, eldest son of Colonel Alexander Luttrell and Dorothy his wife, was born at Dunster on the 10th of May 1705, and baptized there a month afterwards. In the autumn of 1722, when he was seventeen and a half years of age, he and his brother Francis were sent to Oxford under the charge of William Kymer, the curate of Dunster, in order that the elder of them should matriculate at Christ Church. The bill of their expenses shows that they spent the first night at the *Swan* at Bridgewater, the second at the *George* at Wells, the third at the *Three Tuns* at Bath, and the fourth at the *Lamb* at Cirencester. They stayed at the *Star* at Oxford for a week, during which each of the young men bought a wig costing nearly 4/. The 'caution money' paid to the 'treasurer' or bursar, amounted to 15/. On the return journey, they stopped at Burford, Cirencester, Sudbury, Bristol and Stowey.

Shortly before coming of age, Alexander Luttrell married a lady several years older than himself, Margaret daughter of his neighbour Sir John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe. A post-nuptial settlement of his estate was made in 1729. Having a predominant interest at Minehead, he was, almost as a matter of course, elected as one of the Members for that borough in the Parliaments of 1727 and 1734. At Dunster he had a 'huntsman' as well as a gamekeeper. He or his father of the same name reduced the



M. Dahl.

DOROTHY LUTTRELL.

value of the hereditary property by selling the manor of Williton Hadley to Sir William Wyndham.

Alexander Luttrell the second is chiefly to be remembered as the subject of numerous portraits. Endowed with good looks, and habitually dressed in fine clothes, he sat in turn to several of the principal painters of his day. It is, however, very difficult to distinguish the portraits of him from those of his brother Francis. An inventory of the year 1744 specifies three of him as being then at Dunster Castle. One of these described as being "in miniature" may possibly be identified with a very small canvas representing a boy, bewigged according to the fashion of the time, and wearing a red coat, with a sword by his side and a bird on his arm. In a pocket-book of John Fownes Luttrell, there is a note that Boit, the master of the famous enameller Zincke, painted "the picture" of his grandfather Luttrell.

The second portrait of Alexander Luttrell shows him also as a boy in a light periwig and coat and waistcoat of mouse-coloured velvet. In the third, which is a striking three-quarter length, he is a young man in a light periwig and a blue velvet coat lined with white satin. In the fourth, which is also three-quarter length, he wears a larger light periwig, a brown velvet coat and a very long waistcoat of a rich material embroidered, or interwoven, with gold. This picture is signed by John Vanderbank, and dated '1729.' In addition to the foregoing portraits of Alexander Luttrell at Dunster Castle, there is one of him in red velvet at Nettlecombe Court, and another also in red velvet at Bathealton Court. One of these may be by Enoch Seeman, to whom he paid sixteen guineas, in 1733, "for four pictures."

Alexander Luttrell died on the 4th of June 1737 and was buried at Dunster on the 16th, when thirty-nine mourning rings at a guinea apiece, and six small ones at 10s. were distributed among relations and friends.

In 1741, Margaret Luttrell, the widow, married a second husband, Edward Dyke, the last male representative of a family which had very rapidly acquired a great landed estate in Somerset. As his wife, she divided her time between his residences at Tetton and Pixton. For some years, she had the sole charge of three heiresses who were brought up as sisters—her own daughter Margaret Luttrell, her first husband's niece Anne Luttrell, and her second husband's cousin, Elizabeth Dyke, afterwards Lady Acland.

There are two portraits of Edward Dyke at Pixton, and two at Dunster. At the latter place there are four portraits of his second wife. In the first of these she is represented as a girl in blue and white satin. The second, painted by J. Vanderbank in 1729, shows her seated, with a dog by her side. In the third she is in white satin with a red scarf, and in the fourth, painted by Richard Phelps, in a blue cloth cloak with a white hood over her head. There is a fifth portrait of her, as Mrs. Luttrell, at Nettlecombe Court, in blue silk with white sleeves and a white sash.

Mrs. Dyke died in 1764. By her will, proved at Taunton, it appears that she painted flower pieces at a time when few ladies had any practical acquaintance with art.



J. Vanderbank,

ALEXANDER LUTTRELL.

1729.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOWNES LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER

1737—1780.

MARGARET LUTTRELL, the only child of Alexander Luttrell the second, and Margaret his wife, was born on the 7th of February, 1726, and baptized at Dunster. She was consequently little more than eleven years of age at the time of her father's death. Although the Luttrells had increased and multiplied in Somerset and Devon in the course of the seventeenth century, there were, in 1737, only five living representatives of the family, two young girls, this Margaret and her cousin Anne ; a lunatic, Southcote Luttrell of Saunton Court ; an old bachelor, Francis Luttrell of the Temple; and a boy, Southcote Hungerford Luttrell. These last three were but distantly related to the Luttrells of Dunster, not having had an ancestor resident there for two centuries.

Alexander Luttrell had died in debt, due in part to personal extravagance and in part to the necessity imposed upon him by his parents of providing a fortune of 10,000*l.* for Anne Luttrell, the daughter of his deceased brother Francis. The estate was therefore thrown into Chancery and it was not until 1744 that the Master entrusted with the case made his report upon the accounts. In the meanwhile Dunster Castle was closed and two valuations of its

contents were made for the satisfaction of the creditors. In point of fact all the pictures and furniture were saved, but such silver as had been acquired by Alexander Luttrell or his father was dispersed. The accounts of Lancelot St. Albyn, the receiver of the rents for the year 1743, contain several references to this matter, of which three will suffice :—

“ Paid Mr. Alexander, goldsmith, for his assistance three days at the sale of Mr. Luttrell's plate, 2*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* Paid Mr. White for the use of a room in the *Crown Tavern* in Taunton, three days and expenses there, 2*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* Paid the cryar, or salesman, 5*s.* ”

Particulars have been preserved of the weight of every piece sold, and it may be interesting to note that the prices ranged from 4*s.* 8*d.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* per ounce. The names of the purchasers are also given. Among them were Sir John Trevelyan, Margaret Luttrell's grandfather, George Trevelyan, her uncle, Mrs. Dyke, her mother, St. Albyn, her agent, and Alexander the goldsmith at Taunton. The yearly value of the Luttrell estate at this period was about 6,300*l.* though the actual rental was only about 2,150*l.* most of the farms and other tenements being let on lease for lives.

Margaret Luttrell spent several years under the roof of her step-father, Edward Dyke, a very moderate sum being allowed for her maintenance and education, which included music lessons. It was from his house at Tetton that she was married to her second cousin, Henry Fownes of Nethway in the parish of Brixham, in South Devon. The ceremony took place at Kingston Church on the 16th of February 1747, when she was just twenty-one years of age, and so free from the control of guardians, lawyers and the like. The union proved exceptionally happy,

and her letters to her husband, when parted from him, are conceived in a spirit of the sincerest affection. At times, she acted as his amanuensis. Her health, however, was not good, and she died on the 13th of August 1766, after having given birth to ten children. She was of course buried among her ancestors in the vault at Dunster. There are four portraits of her at the Castle. In the first she is represented as a small child in white muslin, with bare feet, offering cherries to a bird, in the middle of a large canvas. Richard Phelps of Porlock, an indifferent artist, afterwards painted a three-quarter length portrait of her in grey and blue satin with a string of pearls round her neck. A third painting shows her in a grey cloak trimmed with lace, and lace round her head. The fourth, which is the most pleasing, gives only the head and neck with an open lace collar. There is a fifth portrait of Margaret Luttrell at Bathelton Court, painted some time after her marriage.

HENRY FOWNES, the husband of Margaret Luttrell, and through her the owner of Dunster, was the eldest son of John Fownes of Kittery Court, in Kingswear, by Anne, his second wife, daughter of Samuel Maddock of Tamerton Foliot, a descendant of the Mohuns of Boconnoc and consequently of the early lords of Dunster. He was born about 1723 and he matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1741. In pursuance of a clause in the will of his father-in-law, he took the additional surname of Luttrell soon after his marriage. Another stipulation in that will compelled him under a penalty to spend at least six months of every year at Dunster Castle. One of his first cares was to have a seal of Brazilian pebble

engraved with the arms of Luttrell quartered with those of Fownes. He also bought jewellery for his bride, "a pair of three dropt brilliant earrings" costing 330*l.*, "a gold etwee with a brilliant diamond to the spring" costing 35*l.*, and "five brilliant stars and a drop" costing 412*l.* "A gold repeating watch" costing 60*l.* was also probably destined for her, for Cooper the jeweller at the same time supplied him with "a woman's gold watch-chain and five swivells" costing 8*l.* 4*s.*

Turning to more serious matters, Henry Fownes Luttrell set himself to put his wife's affairs on a more satisfactory footing than that in which he had found them. With this object, he revived the suit in Chancery and obtained the sanction of the Court for the sale of the outlying manors of Heathfield and Kilton. No sufficient offer was, however, forthcoming. After this, he made several vain attempts to sell the manor of Minehead at his own price, which avowedly included a considerable sum for a seat, or perhaps two seats, in Parliament. He was more successful in paying off mortgages on the estate with money of his own. Furthermore, by avoiding all unnecessary display and keeping a watchful eye on expenditure, he was enabled to make many and great improvements, for the benefit of himself and his successors.

Various pieces of property in and near Dunster came into the market in his time, and he was generally ready to buy them on reasonable terms. Thus, in 1760, he acquired from John Poyntz, the last male representative of an old Roman Catholic family, the reputed manor of Foremarsh in the parishes of Dunster and Carhampton, comprising houses under the shadow of the Castle and fields intermixed with his own. In

1777, he bought the manor of Staunton Fry for 5,500*l.* thereby considerably increasing his 'interest' in the parliamentary borough of Minehead. He also bought up various tenements in the town of Dunster and extinguished the rights of most of the commoners on the Marsh.

A country squire fond of horses, hounds and fighting cocks, Henry Fownes Luttrell was also a man of considerable taste. The structural alterations that he made at Dunster Castle will be described in a future chapter, but it is necessary to mention here that the surrounding domain owes much of its present beauty to him. By abolishing unsightly hedges and by planting trees judiciously, he may fairly be said to have transformed the face of the land on the east and south sides of the town. The present deer-park was created by him. On Conigar Hill to the north of the main street of Dunster, he, in 1775, built a lofty circular tower, which, although hollow and unprovided with a staircase, is useful as a landmark to sailors in the Bristol Channel. Some artificial ruins erected on the same hill cannot of course be commended, but they are now practically concealed by the trees around them.

Henry Fownes Luttrell used to spend part of most years at his old home in Devonshire. There he kept a small pack sometimes described as 'the merry Harriers.' In the only portrait of him at Dunster Castle, he is represented in a short light periwig and a drab hunting coat, with a whip in his hand and a dog by his side. A smaller portrait of him hangs at Bathealton Court.

There are at Dunster Castle a number of books, letters and papers relating to the borough of Minehead, which are of some interest as illustrating the manner

in which Parliamentary elections were conducted in the eighteenth century. One fact worthy of remark is that the different contests at Minehead were waged on personal and local issues, with little regard to wider questions of national policy. In the whole correspondence about elections, there is no mention of Whig or Tory, and there are very few allusions to the leaders of the rival factions at Westminster.

After the death of Alexander Luttrell in 1737, Sir William Codrington and Thomas Carew of Crowcombe seem to have been successively returned to the House of Commons in the interest of Dunster Castle. The other seat was occupied successively by Francis Whitworth of Leyborne, in Kent, who had property at Blackford near Minehead, and John Periam, a Somersetshire squire of comparatively small estate. The franchise was vested in those parishioners of Minehead and Dunster who were 'pot-boilers,' or resident householders, in the borough of Minehead, which consisted of the three tithings of Minehead, Alcombe and Staunton, the receipt of alms of any sort being almost the only disqualification. Carew and Periam were the two representatives of the borough at the time of the marriage of Margaret Luttrell, the heiress of Dunster.

On the 19th of March 1747, Charles Whitworth, son of the late Member, wrote to Henry Fownes Luttrell from St. James's Place in London, as follows :—

"From the acquaintance I had the pleasure of having with you in the West, I take the liberty to congratulate you upon your nuptials, and at the same time to felicitate you as Lord of Dunster, which as it undoubtedly gives you a Natural Interest in the borough of Minehead, I thought it due to the civility that subsisted between the two families to

make this offer to be upon the same footing with you as my father was with the late Mr. Luttrell, and since his decease with that family's interest.

"The situation of Minehead induces the inhabitants thereof to make choice of their Members the one upon the Natural Interest and the other upon that which may be serviceable to them. It was upon this footing they approved of Mr. Luttrell and my father, and since my father's death both by publick and private benefits I flatter myself I have maintained that interest as entirely as he enjoyed it, with a view to offer myself the first opportunity. These, I believe you are sensible, are the only two material interests in that town, though in every place there is a floating squadron.

"As I am determined to stand [at] the General Election at all hazards, I think it will be for both our interests to unite together, which I dare say will be to the entire satisfaction of the constituents.

"You know the footing the two present representatives came in upon, the one entirely by the Castle interest, and if you propose to stand yourself, it cannot be thought that the same interest will prevail for two; whereas if you do not choose to come in this Parliament, I am equally willing to join whoever you give your interest to. The other representative came in upon my father's death, without any opposition, myself not being of age, and [I] make no doubt but that having kept up my father's interest ever since his death will sufficiently secure myself for one of their representatives the ensuing Parliament."

To this overture Luttrell replied tardily and very curtly :—

"I am sorry I cannot by any means comply with your request in relation to our junction at Minehead, by reason I conceive too good an opinion at present of the constituents there to think they will reduce the Castle interest to so low an ebb as not to have the choice of one member at the ensuing election.

He added that he considered the proposal premature and that he was prepared to "risque the expence

of a neutrality." Believing himself able to command one seat, he does not seem to have cared who secured the other.

On the 26th of April, John St. Albyn, the agent for the Luttrell estate, wrote to enquire whether its new owner intended to stand for Parliament. At a recent visit to Minehead, he had been told that Whitworth would "risque his whole fortune" and that "the new candidate" was determined to get every thing that money could procure. This was Percy Wyndham O'Brien, the member for Taunton, brother of that active politician, Sir Charles Wyndham of Orchard. Luttrell, it should be explained, was at the time living far away, at Nethway in Devonshire.

On the 16th of May, St. Albyn wrote again rather discouragingly :—

"The common fellows (who make full two thirds of the voters) are at present gapeing very wide for money... Nothing but money and a great deal of it, and gold too, will satisfy them... The sentiments of the better sort are much divided, some being for Whitworth, others for Carew... Some even of those which I thought your very good friends are very strenuous for the new candidate, Mr. O'Bryan. If this affair goes on, as in appearance it will, it's thought there will be a very troublesome and expensive election."

"By the best accounts I can get, there are very near 300 electors in Minehead, and I have had the curiosity, since I received your letter, to examine the rent-roll and see how many of that number are your tenants, and I cannot pick out 90 of them that hold anything under you, and perhaps of that 90, 20 at least may be of the opposite party, or liable to their influence or corruption; so that, as lord of the manor, you do not appear to be sure of more than about one quarter part of the votes, and it may happen too that of even one quarter of them some will fail you. Besides, I'm informed that if you put your application for the choice but even of one single member on the footing of hereditary right, it will never go down with them."

He considered that "some expence" would certainly be necessary to secure the election of the lord of the manor. In putting the number of tenants at so low a figure, it is clear that he excepted all those householders, who, having leases or copyholds for lives, were practically independent.

Eight days later, Luttrell wrote privately to several of the chief inhabitants of Minehead, placing himself in their hands :—

"As I am likewise informed that the majority of the constituents cry aloud for gold, it is doubtful whether I shall have an opportunity of confirming by action what I have promised by letter. However, my anxiety for being a representative is not so very great as even now to make me determine either to offer myself or support a friend at the ensuing election, but only ask the free voice of the constituents for one or the other, clear of all expence to myself. On these conditions if you think the borough will be unanimous, the greater will be my obligations toward you. I too plainly see the rock my father Luttrell foundered upon to run myself headlong into the same danger."

If he stood at all, it would be "entirely on the Castle interest."

A very lengthy and guarded reply written by William Hayman of Minehead on the 1st of June 1747 has been preserved. According to him, there was a general feeling in the town that one of the two members should be "a Courtier."¹ Whitworth and O'Brien had "under the name of Courtiers" forced themselves into the borough, without consulting the lord of the manor, who had "a Natural Interest" there. Inasmuch, however, as most of the electors were "persons of no property," who had "formerly received money" and were "in expectation of the

¹ A 'Courtier' was perhaps a supporter of the Pelham administration.

same gratification," he was of opinion that nobody whatever could be elected without expense.

"Yesterday was sennight, one Husk, an old servant of the late Mr. Whitworth's, set out of London post and came here Monday night, and says he was sent down by Mr. Whitworth, who was ordered by Mr. Pelham to sound the strength of his friends at Minehead, it having been reported that Mr. Obrien's interest was vastly superior. His business, Tuesday, was to walk the town with their chief friends, to know the intentions of the people, and, I am told, for I was most part of that week abroad, that he met with great encouragement.

"In the afternoon it happened that Mr. Leigh, agent for Mr. Obrien, came to town, and while the others were at the Key, firing gunns and displaying colours, got a great number of friends with himself at the *Feathers*, where he elegantly treated them, and when the others returned from the Key and were crying up their friend Whitworth, they came out of the inn and cryed their friend Obrien, and by throwing up their hatts happened to hit one of the other party in the face, which caused a fray that might have set the town by the ears, for while the better sort of people were fighting, the mobb, happening to be pretty sober, remained quiet and it was soon quelled, for the Collector was engaged with Jonas, Dr. Godwin with Mr. Devonsheir, Mr. Price with Mr. Payne, and various others; so that what the end of this warm opposition may come to before the election is over will be hard to say, both parties being now warmed with resentment."

On the 6th of June, Thomas Carew wrote from Lincoln's Inn Fields to say Parliament would be dissolved within a fortnight and to ascertain Luttrell's intentions with regard to Minehead:—

"As I was first set up to preserve the interest of Dunster Castle in that borough, I can't in honour enter into any engagements that may tend to oppose it, but am desirous to do all in my power to deliver it back to the lord of the borough in case he thinks proper [to] offer himself as a

candidate, but in case he shall decline, I please my[self] with the hopes of not being a disagreeable person to represent it again."

Luttrell wrote from Nethway in reply that, on his marriage he had thought himself "justly entitled to the Natural Interest" in the borough and likely to be returned "with little or no expense," but that "a contrary interest" had since prevailed.

"I am sorry I cannot by any means comply with your request in strengthening your interest at Minehead, but the civilities I have received from my friend Mr. Periam and the many solicitations from other gentlemen in his favour lays (*sic*) me under an obligation to serve him to the utmost of my power."

Nevertheless he expressed a hope that Carew would be chosen for Westminster instead.

Two days later, he issued a letter to the electors of Minehead on behalf of Periam. It is worthy of remark that, although he did not suggest to them how they should bestow their second vote, he wrote at the same time to Sir Charles Wyndham recommending "a junction" of his brother O'Brien with Periam against Whitworth. Sir Charles replied from Taunton on the 19th of June:—

"I cannot help wishing you had been so good as to have agreed to what I proposed by Mr. Haslam last Christmas, when by a junction all manner of opposition might have been prevented. I never did propose to thwart the interest of your family, nor do I think of it now; but as my brother has hitherto stood upon a single interest and is advised to continue to do so, he cannot take any engagements till he has conversed with the electors of the borough."

On the 16th of June, Periam issued a very brief address to the electors, not containing the slightest reference to political or even to local questions, and on the 23rd, he went to Blue Anchor, within a few

miles of Minehead, in order to meet some of his principal supporters before entering the borough with them. The result of the interview, however, was that he withdrew his candidature in favour of his late colleague, Carew. Two days later, there was a conference at Somerton between Sir Thomas Acland, Henry Fownes Luttrell, John Periam and Thomas Carew, which resulted in the retirement of the last named. Luttrell was to give a dinner at Dunster Castle on the following day, and in the afternoon he was to accompany Periam to Minehead, to make a public demonstration on his behalf. A few hours later, Periam changed his mind once more, on hearing that some of his partisans had, since his visit to Blue Anchor, transferred their promises to Whitworth.

Luttrell's absence from Dunster throughout the critical period, and Periam's vacillation within a few days of the election, led to an eclipse of "the Castle interest" in the borough of Minehead, and, on the 30th of June, Whitworth and O'Brien were returned to Parliament without opposition.

The general election of 1754 was hardly more favourable to the lord of Dunster.

Preparations began in the later part of February, when Henry Fownes Luttrell was asked to support the candidature of a total stranger, Henry Shiffner, a wealthy Russia merchant. The request came at a very inconvenient time, and on the 8th of May, he wrote from Nethway :—

"Affairs are so circumstanced at Minehead (as I am about disposing of the manor) that it is impossible for me to give you an absolute promise of my interest there until such time as I see whether I am like to dispose of it or not. However, you will find, on an interview with Mr. Cholwick, that I have given my word not to propose any other person (besides

a purchaser or his friend), relying entirely on what he writ me that you would not only declare yourself upon the Country Interest, but join neither of the present members."

There was at the time some idea that Shiffner himself would buy the manor. Two other candidates were already in the field, the sitting member Whitworth, and a certain Daniel Boone. Percy O'Brien was courting the electors of Cockermouth, and his brother Charles, who had succeeded to the Earldom of Egremont in 1750, was exerting all his influence in favour of Boone. On the 6th of March, James Gould wrote, apparently from Holnicote:—

"My Lord says he'll spend ten thousand pounds, and Whitworth says he'll sell his estate in this part of the world to supply his friends if they'll stand by him this once. He writes prodigiously in favour of Mr. Shiffner, and, I believe, would be glad to join him. W. Leigh offered 6 guineas and a crown yesterday morning, but not a [sou]l would touch *pot* or *penny*. Nothing but guns and bells all day long."

"My Lord's friends have acted so very imprudently of late that the mob is quite inflamed, and a vast many of the better most people have deserted his interest."

Lord Egremont certainly did not scruple to ask his neighbour Sir John Trevelyan to use his influence with a certain Mrs. Prowse, whom he describes as his "greatest enemy" at Minehead, or to write direct to Luttrell soliciting his interest for Boone against a candidate "entirely unknown" in the county of Somerset.

Luttrell was to some extent hampered by the fact that he was High Sheriff for the year, but on the 19th of March he issued the following letter from Dunster Castle "to the electors of the borough of Minehead":—

“Gentlemen,

As the station I am in this year renders it a little improper for me to make a personal application to you, I am obliged to take this method, not only to repeat my recommendation of Mr. Shiffner to your choice, but to intreat your votes and interest for him at the ensuing election; and that I may be the better enabled to distinguish who are my *real* friends in the borough of Minehead, must beg the favour that each of you (in Mr. Shiffner's interest) will sign your approbation of him; which in doing you will infinitely oblige both him, and, Gentlemen, your most assured friend and humble servant,
H. Fownes Luttrell.”

The document bears the names of 181 electors, of whom 64 were avowedly illiterate, while the majority were by no means skilled penmen. With 181 votes, Shiffner would have been certain of one of the seats. On the 30th of March, John Marsh, the family lawyer in London, wrote to Luttrell ;—

“I am glad to find that there is an opposition at Minehead and that you find your interest so much greater then you imagined. It will certainly be beneficial in disposing of the burrough.”

When Shiffner came down to Somerset, he was met at Blue Anchor, on the 4th of April by “a greater concourse of people than ever was known.” Something, however, occurred to arouse “the resentment of the voters,” and, by the 13th, he had become apprehensive of a coalition between Whitworth and Boone.

“As it becomes us therefore to be extremely watchful, so I think no opportunity of keeping up the spirit of Liberty which at present prevails, ought to be neglected.”

He suggested that the Dunster men should be invited to breakfast on the day of the poll, and that influence should be brought to bear on the country

voters. The result of the poll, which lasted four days was—

Whitworth, 283.

Boone, 178.

Shiffner, 145.

On the 2nd of May, the defeated candidate wrote from London :—

“ I hear Lord Egremont is greatly disconcerted and very angry at the struggle he met with. I wish it could be learnt what expence he was at. I imagine it must have been very considerable. Tho’ I did not give a shilling to buy votes, and was only at the expence of treating, £c. 1,200*l.* does not clear my expences.”

For some weeks, he could hardly contain his rage, and his letters abound with allusions to “the indignity of the late election,” “perjury and prostitution of conscience,” “arbitrary injustice,” “infringements on the liberty of the publick,” “brethren of iniquity,” “sycophants,” “half-paced and slack-mettled villains.” In one of them dated the 4th of May, he describes the manner in which he bearded the Prime Minister :—

“Yesterday morning I went to the Duke of Newcastle. I told him that it gave me great concern to find myself and friends were thought and declared to be Jacobites by him. He staggered a little at the expression. I then told him that, on the 11th of April, an express came to Mr. Whitworth at Minehead with a letter from his Grace directing and insisting upon it that Mr. Whitworth should use his interest in Mr. Boone’s favour by joining him, £c. for that the person who opposed him and the people that supported him were *Enemies to the Government*. I expatiated on the cruelty of such an insinuation. The Duke seemed to waive (waive) the affair as if such letter had not been wrote. On which I told him that the letter with the above mentioned expression was signed by his Grace’s own hand, was seen

by some of my friends [and] was owned to be so by Mr. Whitworth himself. Then it was 'My dear Sir, I did not know you personally, but your character can never bear such an imputation.' At parting, I told him I had been vilely treated, but that I was resolved to apply for justice where I hoped to have more chance of meeting with it; and so we parted.

"Tho' the Duke is a great man, and I am but a private man, I think such slurs should not go unnoticed. In the Levee Chamber were Lord Powis, Lord Warwick, Lord Peterborough, Mr. Morris of Wales, Councillor Martin (member for Camelford, Cornwall), Bishop of Clonfert in Ireland (who is Carmicheal, brother to Lord Hyndford and to whom I am intimately known), and several others. I made my errand the subject of conversation among them before I went in to the Duke, and I shall pursue it further by waiting on the next principal man, as the Speaker of the House of Commons, &c. to urge the injury of thus playing with a man's character to serve a ministerial purpose."

Shiffner asserted that he had four precedents of elections having been declared void on proof that letters had been sent by persons in power to disparage the character of a candidate. To say that a politician was 'an Enemy to the Government' was, in his opinion, equivalent to stigmatizing him as a Jacobite. A short correspondence between Shiffner and Henry Fox ended in a declaration by the Secretary at War:—

"I frankly own my wishes that justice may be on the side of Mr. Boon and Lord Egremont."

On hearing of this rebuff, Luttrell observed:—

"What you writ in relation to Mr. Fox greatly pleased me and, if possible, gives me a much better opinion of you than I ever had, as I always hold those most in esteem that appear the most contemptible in the eyes of such a miscreant set of wretches. If I did not flatter myself with the hopes of your meeting with more justice from others than you will receive from Mr. Fox, I should despair of success in your undertaking."

On the advice of Pratt, afterwards Lord Chancellor, it was resolved to petition the House of Commons against Boone, and also to proceed at common law against some of his agents in Somerset, especially William Leigh, Lord Egremont's steward. The petition when eventually presented, on the 26th of November, only called in question the impartiality of the returning officers and Boone's pecuniary qualification for a seat in Parliament. Shiffner's main grievance was that some forty Dunster men had not been allowed to record votes which, if admitted, would have turned the scale in his favour. The affidavits filed in the criminal suit describe a man who had come from Sussex under a false name as sitting at a table covered with gold, in an upper room at the *Plume of Feathers' Inn*, and dispensing five guineas apiece to the poorer voters, nominally by way of loan. Considering that Boone had less than 600*l.* a year, on his own showing, it seems clear that his expenses, legitimate or otherwise, must have been defrayed by Lord Egremont. Finding it difficult to refute the charges brought against them, Boone's agents retaliated by counter-charges of bribery and corruption against Shiffner, which he proposed to meet by an indictment for subornation of perjury. There was long litigation at Westminster Hall, at Bridgewater and at Taunton, but after a year the different suits were abandoned, to the great relief of the people of Minehead. The petition seems also to have been withdrawn.

Henry Fownes Luttrell was at first hardly less angry than his *protegé* at the result of the election of 1754, and devised some vindictive measures. After a while, however, he came to realize that conciliation was a better policy. In January 1757, he distributed half a bushel of wheat apiece to 202 "voters of the

borough of Minehead," impartially including many who had supported Boone against Shiffner, some whose votes had been disallowed, and some new voters. He also gave occasional venison feasts to the principal inhabitants.

In November 1757, a private agreement appears to have been made between him and Lord Egremont to the effect that, at the next general election, they should choose only one candidate apiece and that they should combine against any third candidate who might offer himself. At the election of 1761, Lord Egremont brought forward his brother Percy, the former Member for Minehead, who had been created a peer of Ireland, under the title of Earl of Thomond, and who wanted a seat because the borough of Cockermouth had been bought by Sir John Lowther. Boone, broken in health, disappeared from the scene, and Whitworth did not stand. The polling was accomplished in one day, and on the 28th of March the result was declared as follows :—

Henry Shiffner, 287.

Lord Thomond, 226.

Lord Clanbrasill, 69.

Out of the 291 electors who recorded their votes, only four failed to give one to Shiffner. This success, however, was not attained without eventual expense to him or his patron. There is in Luttrell's handwriting a very significant "List of voters at Minehead that refused taking the 3 guineas, 1761," the number of electors who disdained such a reward being exactly thirty. Their names are repeated in a "List of voters in Minehead asked to dine at Dunster Castle, 8 September 1763, having not taken the 3 guineas after the election," and they were invited again in August 1764.

The connexion between Luttrell and Shiffner had by this time ripened into a warm friendship, and the new Member of Parliament wrote frequently to the squire of Dunster. One of his letters dated 11 December 1762 is of more than local and personal interest. In this he says :—

“Thursday was the day for taking the Preliminaries into consideration, when places were taken at 7 o'clock in the morning in the House, where assembled about 430 Members, and the debate began about 3 o'clock. It is impossible to enter into the whole particulars of it, which lasted till 12 o'clock at night, when upon a division the numbers stood thus :—

319 for the approval of the Peace ;

65 against the approval of it.

Several Members went away before the division.

“Mr. Pitt, very gouty, attended with a crutch, and was indulged to stand and sit down alternatively, and indeed I think in his circumstances of health he required that indulgence, as his speech lasted *three hours and twenty-six minutes*, the most laboured and the worst speech I ever heard him make. In short, it seemed to be an apology for his inflexibility in not agreeing to a Peace last year, arraigning the present Peace article by article, and was couched in terms and expressed as if meant to lay a foundation for popular insurrection. In short, he fairly fatigued the attention of the whole House, and went out as soon as he had finished his speech. He was answered by Mr. Charles Townsend verbatim in twenty-five minutes, and, in my opinion, confuted in every argument which he had given us by repetition upon repetition. After this there appeared so great an inattention in the House from the tiresomeness which a speech of 3 hours and 26 minutes had occasioned, that tho' several spoke *pro* and *con*, yet no sort of attention appeared to be given to it.”

“When Mr. Pitt came into the House, the people in the Lobby made such a hollow as, I own, startled me and I believe almost every Member of the House, and the same was repeated when he withdrew.”¹

¹ Cf. Jesse's *Life and reign of George the Third*, vol. i. pp. 157-159.

“Yesterday, the Report of the Address which had the preceding day been determined upon to the King was made, when unexpectedly the debate revived, and tho’ I thought to have been at home at 4 o’clock to dinner, I did not accomplish my intention till $\frac{1}{2}$ past eleven at night, when we had another division :—

227 agreeing to the Address ;
63 dissenting from it. ”

“The Opposition consisted of the friends of the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Pitt, and Lord Hardwick, and the main stress of their argument seemed to be so contrived as to raise in the people an apprehension of the Prerogative being extended contrary to Revolution principles, a most dangerous poison for vulgar minds and artfully contrived as well as artfully applied in order to raise popular tumult against the Government, with hopes of displacing the present Administration and replacing themselves. ”

They.... wish to revive the odious distinction of Tory and Whig which, thank God, seems sunk in oblivion. ”

Shiffner kept his friends at Dunster Castle supplied not only with parliamentary news but also with his signatures enabling their letters to go free through the post. On one occasion alone, he sent down “eight dozen of half-sheet covers and sixteen dozen of quarter-sheet covers,” with a promise of more when required.

During the Parliament of 1761, the Luttrell interest in the borough of Minehead was kept alive by venison feasts, suppers at the local inns, doles and the like. Preparations for another election began as early as September 1766. In that month there are lists of about sixteen “gentlemen of the Bowling Green Club who had half a buck sent ’em and Sir Jacob’s bowl of punch ” and about twenty “other gentlemen who are not of the above club and for whom half a buck is sent to be dressed at the *Plume of Feathers* with Sir

Jacob's bowl of punch." In November, Dr. Richard Brocklesby, an eminent physician practising in London, conceived the idea of emancipating the borough in which he had been born from the sway of the neighbouring magnates, and obtaining for it at least one representative of acknowledged reputation. By his advice, apparently, some of the principal inhabitants of Minehead resolved to approach the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend. Lord Thomond at once took alarm and tried to effect an alliance with the lord of Dunster against the common foe. When the news reached Luttrell, he wrote as follows to Leonard Herring, vicar of Minehead :—

"The late severe loss I have sustained has made home become very dull and insipid to me, and therefore I have some thoughts of changing the scene and going into Parliament. If I persevere in my present intentions, I shall of course offer myself for Minehead at the ensuing election, and, if I succeed, I hope to have it more in my power to serve the publick and my friends. I purpose to communicate this intended scheme of mine soon to Mr. Shiffner, that he may look out for some other borough in case I should carry it into execution.

"I must also inform you that I have received undoubted intelligence that Lord Thomond intends to offer himself or his friend at the next election and is moreover determined to support the Egremont interest. If this should be the case, and Mr. Townsend is promised one vote certain, whether he is in power or not, what is to become of me or my friend ?

"I am totally cut off from any junction with either by the promises I have made and which I have to adhere to whatever the consequence may be. I only intend to ask for one vote, either for myself or my friend, and I think I have as much right to expect a certainty of it as Mr. Charles Townsend or any other person. If the gentlemen of Minehead are determined to engage themselves to this great man, I submit it to their consideration whether they should not

do it conditionally if he is in power at the next election; for otherwise, should he be stripped of his employments before that time, their promises will continue to the man and not to the Minister."

On the 14th of December, Shiffner wrote :—

I am very sensible of the state of the borough, and do expect at the general election several fresh candidates, a greater number than, I believe, have for many years offered themselves at the borough of Minehead. The sharper the contest, the more glorious will be the victory. Lord Thomond intends to push a friend, who I know not. Whitworth says he shall meet me there with somebody he intends to recommend."

The next move was a circular letter from Charles Whitworth, the former Member, dated 29 January 1767, announcing that if two hundred electors would sign a paper promising their votes to him and his friend, "an eminent merchant in the City of London," they would establish "proper annual schooling for the education of poor voters' children" and encourage other plans for the benefit of the town. The eminent merchant, unnamed, was doubtless to provide the necessary money. On the 1st of February, John Short wrote from Minehead to Henry Fownes Luttrell at Nethway:—

"I have just time to tell you that Mr. Whitworth has declared himself a candidate for this borough and that Dr. Question have (*sic*) received a letter from him referring him to one which Mr. Warren has, wherein he promises to give the poor fellows ten guineas a man, and that Stroude and Powell have been amongst them. The bells have been ringing this evening, I suppose upon that ocasion."

In reply Luttrell declared that Whitworth's "bold stroke" gave him "no manner of concern," adding:—

"His promise of ten guineas a man who will give him both votes may be thought by some an alluring bait, but

when the generality of the town come seriously to consider that places, as well as a little temporary cash, will be wanted, I presume they will think of some other person to serve them, who will be more capable of doing it than, I apprehend, is in Mr. Whitworth's or any merchant's power to do."

Shiffner also affected to be quite unconcerned, suggesting that his supporters might get some entertainment at Whitworth's expense.

On the 8th of March, the vicar wrote to Luttrell:—

"Last Friday, the subscription-book was opened by Robert Fry, in order to engage 200 votes at ten guineas a man for one vote, when 105 signed the paper, and have absolutely engaged to stand by his friend let him be *black or white*. They are adding to that number daily and as soon as the subscription is full, the book is to be shut, and, I suppose, he (Whitworth) will then go upon 'Change. Mr. Adams has joined him, but I don't hear of any other gentleman. This is pushing you and your friend confounded hard.

"As the affair now stands, your *real friends* would be greatly obliged by you if you would let them know your final resolutions, for they are almost ripe for rebellion and are ready to fight him through all his weapons.

"The corn you have sold to the poor of this town is looked upon as no favour, for they publicly declare they will stand by that man that will give most. By what I can learn, they are determined to run you extremely hard."

On the 14th, Luttrell issued his address to the election saying:—

"I offer myself unconnected with Mr. Shiffner and every other person, and having no intentions of asking for any place for myself, I think I can with the greater propriety apply to Government on behalf of a friend."

Various persons at Minehead had desired places as excisemen, tide-waiters and the like. Just a week later, the vicar wrote to Luttrell:—

“Your letter gave a very general satisfaction to the principal people of the town, and we are all determined to carry the election for you at all events. We canvassed the borough for you yesterday, when we made a most noble appearance, having almost every man in town of any consequence to attend us, excepting some few that were ill.”

“We shall all make a point of carrying this election, notwithstanding the strong opposition that is talked off; and if you’ll send down 200*l.* to be distributed as we see necessary, I’ll return you by the following post a fixed majority, in defiance of all their efforts. ’Tis the opinion of us all that something of this kind must be immediately done. To save every expense in our power, we have entered into an agreement never to have one public dinner, and if you expect our company in the evening, we shall insist on having nothing but a welch rabbit.

“I should be glad if Mr. Shiffner would drop all thoughts of coming to Minehead and go with me into Cornwall, where I am well assured he will meet with a most agreeable reception.”

Shiffner, however, was not to be so easily shaken off. On the 24th of April he issued a printed notice to the voters that he was “firmly determined” to “wait on them at the next election,” and repeating “in the most solemn manner the declaration he made, that he has not any concert, connexion or correspondence with Mr. Luttrell or any other candidate, directly or indirectly.” Twenty-nine of the principal inhabitants of Minehead were invited to dine at Dunster Castle on the 27th of April.

In the course of the next few months, the negotiation with Charles Townshend was terminated by his premature death, and Lord Thomond betook himself to Winchelsea. On the other hand, a project was formed of inviting the Duke of Grafton to send down a purely ministerial candidate. The Duke himself encouraged it openly, and some of the electors

who had promised one vote to Luttrell were willing to sign the proposed memorial. Luttrell, however, took umbrage at it, and, acting with unwonted energy, went up to London to oppose the scheme at head-quarters. The result of this move was that the Government gave him the immediate patronage of all offices at Minehead, presumably in consideration of a promise of support in the next House of Commons. On the 2nd of October, the vicar wrote to him:—

“ ‘Luttrell for ever’ is now the general cry to serve both high and low. You never had a more favourable opportunity of putting in another member than at present, if you can but compromise affairs with Mr. Shiffner, which, I imagine could easily be done thro’ the Duke of Grafton.”

“A pleasing smile you may see in the faces of three parts of the people in town, while the others have their chins down to the fifth buttonhole.”

Five days later, he wrote again:—

“If you can but adjust this affair with Mr. Shiffner, your friend must come in without opposition.”

The grandiloquent Shiffner had clearly lost much of his popularity, and in this contest he had not the overt support of his friend at Dunster Castle.

Parliament was dissolved on the 11th of March 1768, and a little after nine o’clock on the morning of the 18th, proclamation was made at the cross, or market-place, of Minehead. The precept and the bribery oath were then read and three candidates proposed. “Mr. Shiffner offered himself as their former Member; Mr. Whitworth offered himself; Mr. Luttrell offered by Mr. Hayman. They then adjourned to the polling room and began the poll about ten.” As it was well known beforehand that the great majority of the electors would give one vote to Luttrell, the contest was practically left to the two other candidates, each of whom alternately sent up

a 'tally,' or batch, of ten supporters. For hours therefore they appeared to be running neck and neck, each, however, keeping the chief local magnates in reserve till the end. Shiffner was the first to be exhausted, and the poll was closed about four o'clock, when the result was declared:—

Luttrell, 301.

Whitworth, 197.

Shiffner, 167.

Very few of the electors had divided their votes between Whitworth and Shiffner, and still fewer had tendered only one vote. The defeated candidate again threatened a petition, but nothing came of it.

A minute account has been preserved of Luttrell's expenses in connexion with this election, extending over a year and a half, from April 1767 to October 1768, and amounting in all to 1,868*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* In the first of these years the chief items were for wheat sold to the poor at a reduction and over 300*l.* "gave to the poor voters" in cash. In order to keep clear of the acts against bribery, no promises of support had been exacted from them in return for this voluntary distribution. Altogether two hundred and eighty-seven electors had pocketed a guinea apiece without scruple. A separate list gives the names of fifty-five "gentlemen who will not take money." On the day of the canvass at the beginning of March, 55*lb.* of gunpowder had been consumed, and compensation was eventually paid for windows broken by the firing of the guns. A few days before the election, there had been sports in a field behind a house on the quay. Sailors in sacks had run for "a pair of handsome trowsers," and landmen in sacks had run for a hat. Women had run for "a handsome pair of stays" and "a handsome shift," and girls "tied back to back"

had run for a pair of pumps that cost 3s. The maids from the Castle had of course been bedecked with suitable ribbons. The customary fees paid on the day of the election to the crier, to eight constables, to as many chairmen, to two drummers, to a fiddler and others, amounted in all to less than 12/. A great part of the account is occupied with expenditure on beef, bread, cheese, ale, wine, rum and the like. It is more interesting to observe that on the fourth day after the election, Luttrell's permanent agent went to Minehead Quay and there openly gave four guineas to every sailor who had voted for his employer. In the course of the next few weeks, a like amount was given to different landmen, those who had not received a guinea in the previous year, but who had duly voted for Luttrell, receiving five guineas apiece. Altogether, the "cash given the voters after the election" by his agent amounted to close upon 1,000/. We have no record of the sums given by Whitworth to those of his supporters who had taken Luttrell's guinea in 1767. Although Luttrell's agent somehow got a list of the voters who had received money from Shiffner, each candidate seems to have adhered honourably to his declaration that he had no connexion with either of the others.

The election of 1768 was barely over before Luttrell, flushed with success, began to prepare for another, with the intention of securing both seats. On the 16th of April, Sir Thomas Acland wrote to him from Holnicote, near Minehead :—

"I am persuaded that your weight and property in the borough, properly managed, would with little trouble secure to you the nomination of both members.

It would not be consistent with that candour which ought to be observed, were I not to say that I ca'n't (as matters are at

present circumstanced) think of serving Mr. Shiffner, or of opposing Mr. Whitworth, for whom I have some regard."

On the same day, invitations like the following were issued to some of the principal inhabitants of Minehead :—

"Mr. Luttrell presents his compliments to Mr. Thomas Brown, and having declared his intentions of offering his friend as well as himself for Minehead at any future election, he hopes Mr. Brown will support the nomination and give Mr. Luttrell the pleasure of his company at Dunster Castle next Thursday to dinner."

One cautious elector, who could not accept the invitation, replied that he would support Luttrell and his friend "provided this friend, when known, shall appear deserving of the choice and suffrage of a free people." The name of the "friend" was not, however, disclosed. Periodical dinners and "buck-feasts" at the *Plume of Feathers* may have tended to maintain the Castle interest, but, in the summer of 1773, there were serious "differences" between the townsmen of Minehead and their senior representative, apparently on some local question.

During three days at the beginning of August 1774, the borough of Minehead was systematically canvassed on behalf of Henry Fownes Luttrell and his "friend," who was his eldest son, John Fownes Luttrell. Some few electors wished to reserve their second vote for Shiffner, in the event of his coming forward again. Shortly afterwards a legal opinion was obtained from John Heath, K.C. :—

"The only statute prohibiting candidates from treating electors is the 7th of King William the 3rd. This prohibition does not take place in the case of a General Election untill the writts of election are ordered for the ensuing election. But at Common Law I conceive that all enter-

tainments given with an avowed intent to procure votes at an election are illegal.

"I think that you may still defray the expences at the monthly clubb, entertain your tenants at holding your Manour Courts, pay the ringers, and reward the sailors who have attended you, in the usual way untill the writts for the ensuing election shall be ordered or issued ; and then such entertainments and gratuities should cease.

"It is most prudent to avoid giving any extraordinary entertainment, but no law prohibits you from entertaining your friends at your house before the issuing or ordering of the writts of election, tho' such friends should be voters, or even afterwards, if it be not in great numbers, or in an extraordinary way."

On the 29th of August, Richard Cox of Minehead wrote to say that Sir Charles Whitworth had announced his intention of coming to the town with a friend, "a person of great fortune and of undeniable character," in about a fortnight.

"The common people are in great spirits, as they are made to believe that they shall have twenty guineas at least a man. Andrew Boucher has got a paper headed so that all those that chuse to support Whitworth's friend are to sign their names so. I am told 170 has allready signed it."

"It is the oppinion of all your friends that it will be absolutely necessary for you to canvass the bourough before Whitworth comes downe, and I do intirely agree with them in opinion, although I do'nt tell them so. My dear Mr. Luttrell, do'nt mind a little trouble. I am certain it will save you many pounds."

Trouble was just what Luttrell disliked. Many of his letters begin with apologies for delay in writing. In point of fact Whitworth was soon established by the Government in a safe seat at East Looe.¹

On the 3rd of October, a certain Mr. Barnfather came down to Minehead as a candidate. He was

¹ Historical MSS. Comm. x. Appendix vi. pp. 6, 7.

met at Alcombe Cross by some thirty of the inhabitants and went into the town preceded by a drum. A canvass that afternoon and the next day resulted in the promise of only forty-five votes, and so he took his departure, after sending a civil letter to Dunster Castle saying that he had been "greatly misled by the intimations which he had received while in London," and that he would not put Mr. Luttrell to any further trouble or unnecessary expense.

The final canvass for the two Luttrells was on the 4th and the Court Leet of Minehead was held on the 5th, when some of the jury subscribed 2*s.* 6*d.* apiece, so that there should not be the slightest appearance of treating on the part of the lord of the manor, the writs for the General Election having been issued. On the 5th and 7th there was "nothing doing in Minehead."

On the 8th, "Mr. Luttrell and Mr. J. Luttrell, with Mr. Henry, Alexander and Francis Luttrell, Mr. Hayne and Mr. Milward, set out from Dunster a little before 10, and at Alcombe Cross met the colours, drums, and violins, chamber gun men and a very great number of the principal and other voters and others.

"All walked from thence into Minehead; first colours, drums and violins; next the two constables with their staffs; next Mr. and Mr. J. Luttrell with their hats off; and all others followed. Stopt some time at Mr. Cox's and all went from thence in same manner to Market Place, where the cryer proclaimed silence three times. Then Mr. Warren read the precept and publication of it. Then Mr. Hayman swore the two constables, and after Mr. Baston read the Bribery Act. Then Mr. Luttrell offered himself; then Mr. J. Luttrell offered himself, candidates. Then the constables and candidates adjourned to the Market House for polling."

Ten electors and the two constables recorded a vote apiece for each candidate. After a few more formalities, Mr. Cox declared them duly elected. They

returned thanks, which were received with applause, and were then carried to Mr. Cox's house in two chairs.

"Then all dispersed and Mr. Luttrell &c. came home to dinner, not having spent a penny on either of his canvasses or election or in any other way on the voters."

Was not Minehead a model constituency? Was there ever a more virtuous election-agent than George Gale, who wrote as above? Less than four months later, the same George Gale was busily occupied in distributing gold pieces among the electors of Minehead. There were three categories:—"Voters who would not accept of the five guineas; voters who accepted of the 5 guineas; voters who would have been against Mr. Luttrell, so had nothing given them." There is a short summary in Luttrell's own hand:—

"95 voters at 5 guineas each. . . . 498*l.* 15*s.*

Colour-men, &c. &c. . . . 29*l.* 8*s.*

10 more to take 50 guineas

About 30 voters more who are to be allowed the five guineas out of their rents. 150 guineas."

In the accounts 635*l.* 5*s.* are entered as "gratuities given the poor voters." One hundred and eighteen of "the common voters" were entertained at different public houses on the 20th of October at a charge of 5*s.* a head. On the same day "the principal voters" received "a treat" or "general feast" at the *Plume of Feathers Inn* comprising both dinner and supper.

A fortnight after the election, Lord North, then Prime Minister, wrote to Luttrell:—

"As there is nobody whom I can wish to see Member for Minehead in preference to you, I cannot but rejoice at the determination that you have taken of representing that borough yourself. But as you seem in your letter [to

J. Robinson] to express some discontent at the conduct of Administration with respect to the election, I beg leave to state in a few words what my conduct has been in the whole course of this transaction.

“From the time that you explained to me that the borough was intirely in your hands, I have always disposed of the offices there at your recommendation. That Sir Charles Whitworth should not be tempted to give you any trouble, I fixed him above half a year ago as a candidate for Dover. As soon as I heard from you that he was making some stir at Minehead, I wrote to him to desist. It was from your own suggestion that I first thought of recommending a candidate at Minehead, and it was upon your objecting to Mr. Legge and appearing, as I thought, willing to accept of my recommendation of another gentleman, that I took the liberty of mentioning Governor Pownall to you.

“This, I solemnly declare, is all that I have done with respect to Minehead, and I cannot conceive how you can form, from any part of this conduct, an idea that I look upon it as a Government borough. If you have changed your opinion, and, instead of bringing in a gentleman at my recommendation, as you seemed inclined to do when I last heard from you, are now determined to represent Minehead yourself, I do not complain of it, but if you take this step from any jealousy of me, give me leave to tell you that your jealousy is groundless and unreasonable.”

It does not appear that Henry Fownes Luttrell had any real zest for Parliamentary life. He was probably far happier with his hounds and his fighting cocks in Devon or Somerset than in London. Having secured both seats at Minehead at the General Election, he was confident that nobody could withstand his interest at a by-election for one seat, and he was in a position to negotiate profitably with Lord North or with that famous dealer in boroughs, John Robinson. There is in his handwriting a memorandum which, although undated, may almost certainly be referred to the autumn of 1774:—

“ Preliminaries to be settled previous to my &c.

Five hundred pounds to be paid at all events. In case the person is returned, 3 or 2500*l.* more to be paid within one month after such return.

Not to ask for any place belonging to the town of Government, unless by Mr.... desire.

Not to offer himself or his friend for the borough at the next General Election, nor upon any vacancy that may happen in the meanwhile, unless by Mr.... approbation. The person to pay all his own and servants (?) &c. expenses.”

Whether all these conditions were accepted does not appear, but it is certain that Henry Fownes Luttrell resigned his seat within a few weeks of the General Election, and that Thomas Pownall, a supporter of the Ministry, was chosen to fill the place, on the 31st of December 1774. The expenses of this by-election amounted to less than 50*l.* Seventy-eight of the *élite* of Minehead were invited to a ball in October 1775. In Parliament, Pownall distinguished himself by his independence of political parties, especially with regard to the American question.¹

At the general election of 1780, Henry Fownes Luttrell pursued the policy which had proved so successful in 1774, and announced that his interest would be exercised in favour of two candidates bearing the name of Luttrell. The proceedings have been minutely recorded by George Gale :—

“ Monday, September 4th. The writ dated this day and brought by the Sheriff’s bailiff to Dunster Castle and staid there all night.

Tuesday 5th. The writ delivered to Mr. Chappell, the Constable, by the Sheriff’s man at half past ten in the morning and published immediately for election to come on Saturday 9 September at eleven in morning. N.B. Mr. Luttrell gave the Sheriff’s officer 10*s.* 6*d.* The colours and music and guns at Alcomb Cross.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xlv. p. 264.

Wednesday 6th. Mr. J. F. Luttrell and Mr. F. F. Luttrell offered themselves and began canvassing about eleven and ended about half after six, attended by Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Russell and son, Mr. Cuttiff, and a great number of the gentry of the town. George Gale attended to take minutes. Not one dyssenting voyce.

Thursday 6th. Mr. J. Luttrell and Mr. F. F. Luttrell, attended by young Mr. Russell and Revd Mr. James Camplin, and from Bratton by some of the town gentlemen, canvassed the country, except the two Mynes and Greenaleigh. Came back to dinner at the first sitting at the *Luttrell Arms Inn*.

Friday 8th. At home all day, nothing doing.

Saturday 9th. A little after ten, Mr. Luttrell on horseback, Mr. J. Luttrell and Mr. F. F. Luttrell in the chaise, Mr. Russell and son, Mr. Cuttiff, self and Mr. Crang, Mr. Roberts and others of Dunster, set out on horseback and were met by several of the Minehead gentlemen on horseback between Dunster and Elicombe Cross where Mr. Cox took the constables foremost and all the horse following two and two and then the chaise with the two candidates followed close after and passing a concourse of people at Alcomb Cross they halted immediately beyond while the guns fired and three huzzas given, the colours &c. being ahead. Then proceeded first the colours and music and after them the clubmen with their white staffs, then the constables and after them all the horsemen two and two, and then the chaise with the candidates, and proceeded to town. The colours &c. halting a little below, the horses were taken away and the chaise came forward and the two candidates came out at Mr. Cox's where all stopt and the guns firing behind till the oaths &c. were ingrossed. Then proceeded the colours drums and music, with the two constables close after and the two candidates with hats off following, and all the people after, on to the Market place, where a table was placed and a chair to get on it. Then the two constables and Mr. Bastone read the Sheriff's precept and publication of it. (Bribery Act should have been read.) Then two constables sworn and signed the affidavit taken by Mr. Hayman. Then Mr. Bastone read the Bribery Act, which should have been read before the two constables were sworn.

Then constables asked voters who they proposed. The answer was J. F. Luttrell and F. F. Luttrell, Esqrs. and three huzzas. (but the two candidates should [have] offered.)

Then removed to polling house."

There William Hayman, who is described as 'esquire' and nine others whose names are prefixed by 'Mr,' recorded a vote apiece for the two candidates.

"Then silence proclaimed and proclamation made and asked by the constables if anyone chused to set up or vote for any other person, or any other person offered as a candidate, to which "No" was answered, and then the constables polled for the same gentlemen, and, silence being proclaimed again, the constables said that on casting up the votes they found the majority in favour of John Fownes Luttrell and Francis Fownes Luttrell, Esquires, and therefore declared them duly elected.

"Then Mr. John Fownes Luttrell addressed himself to the people thanking them for the present as well as past favours and hoped to continue to merit them. Then Mr. Francis Fownes Luttrell addressed himself to them and thanked them for the favour conferred on him and his proceedings in the trust will give them satisfaction so as to merit it. Then three huzzas given.

"The two elected members were carried in two chairs to Mr. Cox's and the populace following they were there again thanked by the two elected members and by Mr. Luttrell, and then they dispersed quietly, and not a farthing spent in the canvass or election."

Henry Fownes Luttrell died on the 30th October 1780, and was buried at Dunster. By Margaret his wife he had issue altogether ten children :—

Alexander, born on the 31st of March 1749, baptized at Dunster on the following day, and buried there three months later.

John, his heir.

Henry, born at Tetton on the 30th of July 1753. He became a Lieutenant in the Royal Horse Guards Blue, but died early. He was probably the subject of a portrait at Dunster Castle of a young man in a blue coat with bars of gold lace and a white silk waistcoat. He was buried at Dunster on the 4th of January 1777.

Alexander (2).¹

Francis.²

Thomas, born at Dunster on the 10th of February, 1763. Entering the army in 1782 as an Ensign in the 89th Foot, he became a Lieutenant in the 49th Foot in the following year and Captain in 1787. From that year until 1800, he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Somersetshire Fencible Infantry. In October 1807, he married Catherine daughter of John Cave Browne of Stretton-in-le-fields in Derbyshire.³ Dying on the 19th of January 1811, he was buried eight days later in the Abbey Church at Bath.

Margaret (Peggy), born at Dunster on Christmas Day 1747 and baptized there. When she was between three and four years old, she was painted at full length by Richard Phelps with a dog beside her. In April 1769, she sat in London to an artist of a very different calibre. Sir Joshua Reynolds's list of sitters for that month records the name of 'Miss Luttrell,' and there is a note in his hand :— "When Miss Luttrell is finished to write Mr. Luttrell, Dunster Castle, Somersetshire." With this clear evidence before them, biographers of Reynolds have gone out of their way to describe the subject as the daughter of an Irish peer and the sister of the

¹, ², See Appendix.

³ *Monthly Magazine*, p. 141.



Sir, J. Reynolds

1769.

MARGARET FOWNES LUTTRELL.
(MRS. SOUTHCOTE.)

Duchess of Cumberland.¹ The original portrait and a contemporary copy of it are alike at Dunster Castle. One of them has hung there ever since it was finished. The other belonged for some seventy years to successive members of the Southcote family, for on the 24th of April 1769, when the picture was barely finished, Margaret Fownes Luttrell was married, at St. Anne's Soho, to John Henry Southcote, of Buckland Toutsaints, and Stoke Fleming in Devonshire. There is a portrait of him also at Dunster Castle, painted some fifteen or twenty years later and attributed to Opie. Mrs. Southcote died in 1792. Her husband survived until 1820.²

Anne, baptized at Dunster on the 4th of July 1750 and buried there on the 18th of August.

Anne (2), baptized at Dunster on the 30th of June 1751 and buried there on the 1st of August.

Anne (3), baptized at Dunster on the 4th of May 1758 and buried there on the 12th of August.

Margaret Fownes Luttrell, the heiress of Dunster, having died in 1766, her husband remained a widower for some years. In 1771, he married Frances daughter of Samuel Bradley of Dunster, who claimed descent from the Luttrells through her mother. After his death, she resided at Taunton, but she was buried at Dunster in November 1803.

¹ Leslie & Taylor's *Life of Sir J. Reynolds*, vol. i. p. 347; Graves.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxix. p. 270.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOWNES LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER

1780-1908.

JOHN FOWNES LUTTRELL, eldest son of Henry and Margaret, was baptized at Dunster on the 24th of June 1752. He matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1770, but did not proceed to a degree. As has been seen above, he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Minehead in 1774, and again in 1780. On the death of his father in November of the latter year, he succeeded to the family estates, but some little time seems to have elapsed before he rewarded with four guineas apiece those of the Minehead electors who had supported him at the poll. In an "alphabetical list of voters," there is a note by George Gale—"those marked 'Gent.' do not take money and are invited to the annual treats." Among these 'gentlemen' were the local surgeons, the captains of several ships, a farmer, a butcher, a glazier, and a roper.

In the early part of 1783, Francis Fownes Luttrell, the junior member for Minehead, accepted the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, and his brother brought in Henry Beaufoy of Shropshire, without a word of opposition. The exact terms of the agreement between them are not recorded, but it may fairly be assumed that the stranger was made to pay.

After the dissolution of Parliament in the following

year, John Fownes Luttrell and Henry Beaufoy were re-elected for Minehead, but the latter, having been returned also for Great Yarmouth, decided to serve for the East Anglian borough. Charles Phipps of Mulgrave Hall, in Yorkshire, was chosen in his stead, but died in 1786 and was succeeded by Robert Wood of Lyme Grove, in Surrey.

At the General Election of 1790, John Fownes Luttrell was returned for Minehead, together with George, Viscount Parker, who was appointed Controller of the Household in the following year. Although there had not been any contest, sixty-one of the electors eventually received four guineas apiece. When Lord Parker succeeded to the Earldom of Macclesfield in 1795, Luttrell was unprovided with a suitable candidate willing to purchase a fairly safe seat. In order therefore to maintain the interest of Dunster Castle in the borough, he put forward his own brother, Thomas Fownes Luttrell, who was duly elected.

After a long period of tranquillity, the little borough of Minehead was, in 1796, agitated by a severe electoral contest, four candidates coming forward for the two seats. On the one side were John Fownes Luttrell of Dunster Castle and his brother Colonel Thomas Fownes Luttrell; on the other John Langston of Sarsden House in Oxfordshire, and Rear-Admiral Charles Morice Pole. Whether there was any political question at issue does not appear. The electors were, however, exhorted by Langston and his friends to free themselves from "tyrannic sway." The poll was opened on Saturday the 28th of May and closed on the evening of the 30th, when the Luttrells were exhausted and their opponents in almost the same condition. The result of the voting was not entirely satisfactory to either side :—

J. Fownes Luttrell,	97,
J. Langston,	94,
T. Fownes Luttrell,	85,
C. M. Pole,	82.

John Fownes Luttrell and John Langston were accordingly returned to Westminster.

After the election was over, a list was made of no less than eighty-two persons who had promised one vote to John Fownes Luttrell, but who at the poll recorded both their votes against him. Considering that several of these ‘turncoats’ were tenants who had not for several years paid the rent due to him, it is clear that his opponents must have offered them some very substantial inducement to vote openly against their landlord. Having got into Parliament, Langston applied himself to strengthening his interest at Minehead, by buying land and building houses there. On the other hand, twenty-four of “the principal inhabitants” met at the *Plume of Feathers* in November, “to form some plan for recovering and effectually securing Mr. Luttrell’s interest” and unanimously passed several resolutions. They recommended, for instance, that Mr. Luttrell should repair “the common houses” and erect temporary shambles for the butchers. Their third resolution was:—

“That Mr. Luttrell be recommended to dispossess all such persons of their houses, grounds, etc. as were inimical to his interest at the last election.”

They, moreover, bound themselves to give a preference in the employment of labourers to all such as had supported Mr. Luttrell at the recent election.

A very circumstantial and withal fairly candid account of the Minehead election in 1802, was laid before Thomas Plumer, afterwards Master of the Rolls.

From this we learn that John Langston, one of the sitting members, and James Woodbridge offered themselves as candidates on Easter Day, the 18th of April, and that, two days later, John Fownes Luttrell began a canvass on behalf of himself and "his friend" unspecified. Entertainments were given by both parties.

"Mr. Luttrell, the proprietor of every inn in the borough, opened them to the number of thirteen, in the usual manner upon such occasions. Billets were made out by his agents for a certain number of the voters in his interest to go to each of the several inns, where suppers were very frequently given, liquor was always ready to be distributed, and in short the most unlimited treating took place. Mr. Langston's and Mr. Woodbridge's voters were entertained as constantly, in a room fitted up for the purpose out of a barn, and in another room within the borough, and, except that Mr. Luttrell's entertainments were the most liberal as to the food and liquor provided, no distinction can be made between the treating on either side."

On the 16th of May, John Patteson came to stay at Dunster Castle, and on the morrow his host introduced him to the borough as the person whom he intended to support. According to an arrangement between them, Luttrell managed the campaign and paid all the expenses. Treating continued until the 28th of June, when Luttrell and Patteson announced that it must cease, because Parliament was about to be dissolved. Their opponents, however, went on as before. At this juncture, Mr. Lethbridge, "a gentleman of very large property and a particular friend of Mr. Luttrell," appeared on the scene and said that the public-houses must be kept open, he himself undertaking to pay all consequent expenses. This, we are told, he did "without the least view to remuneration" and "from pure regard to Mr. Luttrell's interest." Indeed, he was prepared to "state" that he had not

“the least prospect or expectation of repayment,” although he had suffered no pecuniary loss through lending his name for a similar purpose at the previous election.

After the issue of the writ, Langston and Woodbridge became more liberal than before, while the supporters of Luttrell and Patteson were restricted to bread and cheese in a large room, the liquor at the inns being supplied by Lethbridge, without authority from them. At the last moment, two fresh candidates were put up against the Castle interest, in view of the possibility that the House of Commons might disallow the return of any of the others. The poll for this little borough was kept open no less than five days, the result being declared on the 5th of July, as follows:—

Luttrell,	139,
Patteson,	139,
Langston,	108,
Woodbridge,	106,
Caslett,	13,
Walters,	13.

This election seems to have aroused a good deal of ill feeling. On the one hand, Luttrell began proceedings against some of his neighbours for libel ; on the other hand, the defeated candidates presented a petition against the return. Luttrell had “not the least apprehension” that he could be unseated for bribery. “Upon his canvass, he uniformly rejected to receive the promise of any vote attended with any condition whatever.” With regard to treating, his position was much weaker, and the returning officers, who were virtually his nominees, had refused the aid of an experienced assessor. In the case submitted to counsel by his agents, there is an ingenuous confession :—

“How to state the conduct of the returning officers so as to show that they did not act illegally, partially, and corruptly, is felt from the nature of things to be very difficult.”

As the other side had equally valid reasons for shunning a public enquiry, a compromise was eventually made, Luttrell undertaking to stop his prosecutions, and Langston and Woodbridge undertaking to drop their petition. Furthermore, in August 1803, Langston agreed to sell to Luttrell all his property in the borough of Minehead, consisting largely of houses built for the purpose of creating votes. Three arbitrators learned in the law fixed the price at 7,000*l*. Finally, William Davis of Alcombe, merchant, published an apology for having issued “a most false, scandalous, and malicious libel” on John Fownes Luttrell, esquire.

The papers at Dunster Castle afford very little information about the General Election of 1806. Under date of the 22nd of October, there is a “rough list of inhabitants of Minehead likely to vote for Mr. Luttrell and his friend.” Then there is a “list of voters as they were billeted to the different houses in Minehead for a supper and drink, the 24th October.” Lastly, there is a list of seventy-two “gentlemen to be invited to dine at the *Plume of Feathers Inn* in Minehead, on Wednesday the 5th day of November 1806.” The election had already been held on the 1st of the month, when Sir John Lethbridge and Lord Rancliffe had been returned. Luttrell had withdrawn at the last moment, but it is practically certain that both the members were his nominees. Lethbridge resigned within a few weeks and John Fownes Luttrell was returned in his place on the 14th of January 1807.

Another dissolution of Parliament followed very shortly, the King desiring a House of Commons that would support the ministry formed by the Duke of

Portland. On this occasion, a final attempt was made to overthrow the supremacy of the Castle interest in the borough of Minehead. The struggle was very brief. On the 6th of May 1807, the Hon. Thomas Bowes issued a printed address "to the worthy and independent electors," which did not contain the slightest reference to his political views; he simply asked them to exercise their "freedom of suffrage," and declared his desire to protect them "from the shackles and abuses of tyranny and corruption." A song composed on his behalf similarly asks:—

"Shall Britons bold be bought and sold
Slave-like—mere traffic in a fair?"

The poll was opened on the 8th of May, and after seven o'clock in the evening "the Hon. Thomas Bowes sent a letter to Mr. William Leigh, informing him that he would not give Mr. Luttrell any further trouble." Only thirty-four electors recorded their votes on the following day, and when the numbers were officially counted, the result was declared:—

John Fownes Luttrell,	123,
John Denison,	108,
Hon. Thomas Bowes,	64.

In 1812, John Fownes Luttrell and his son, John Fownes Luttrell the younger, were elected "by acclamation and with the most cordial demonstrations of regard." The event was celebrated by a ball in November, to which about a hundred and fifty persons were invited, all belonging to the professional and commercial class.

The administration of the Dunster estate by John Fownes Luttrell the elder was marked by several changes, all tending to a concentration of his interest. Between the years 1789 and 1793, he purchased from



J. Downman.

1781.

MARY DREWE.
(MRS. FOWNES LUTTRELL.)

Lord Stawell the whole of the Stewkley inheritance at Dunster, comprising the rectorial tithes, the advowson, and several burgages and fields at Marsh. In 1796, he paid 8,000*l.* to Juliana, Lady Langham, daughter and eventual heiress of George Musgrave, for the impropriate rectory and the advowson of the adjoining parish of Carhampton, with a house and a few acres called Uphill at Rodhuish. Fifteen years later, he bought the manor of Sandhill in the parish of Carhampton from Hugh Escott. As a set-off against these purchases, he sold the outlying manor of Heathfield Durborough to John Perring of Combe Florey, in 1803, for the sum of 22,000*l.*

At an earlier period of his life, John Fownes Luttrell had taken considerable interest in horses, and there are at Dunster Castle silver cups won by him at Lichfield races in 1781 and at Totnes races eight years later. He married, on the 2nd of August 1782, Mary daughter of Francis Drewe of Grange, in Devonshire, and by her had issue five sons and four daughters :—

John, his heir.

Henry, successor to his brother.

Francis, born on the 10th of February 1792, and baptized at Dunster. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in 1810, but left without a degree, accepting a commission in the Grenadier Guards in March 1813, just in time to take part in the expulsion of the French from Spain. He was staying at Dunster Castle when the news arrived of Napoleon's escape from Elba, and he forthwith went up to London, whence he proceeded by Ramsgate, Ostend, and Ghent, to join his battalion at Enghien. At the battle of Waterloo, he was wounded in the hand. On the 21st of February 1824, he married,

at Kensington, his cousin Louisa daughter of Samuel Drewe, and he sold his commission in April 1825. Settling at Kilve Court as a country gentleman, he became the first chairman of the Williton Board of Guardians and the first Master of the West Somerset Fox-hounds. In 1839, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment of Somerset Militia. He died on the 4th of January 1862 and was buried at Dunster, where there is a stained glass window in memory of him. Mrs. Luttrell survived until 1881. They had issue nine children :—

George, successor to his uncle, Henry Fownes Luttrell, of Dunster Castle.

Edward, of Kilve Court, born in 1831 and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He died on the 3rd of July 1865.

Arthur John, born in 1832, entered the Royal Navy and died at Penang in 1847.

Francis, born in 1836 and educated at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford. He died in Natal in 1880. By Helena his wife, daughter of Stephanus Maritz of Natal, he left issue two daughters, Helena Louisa (Nina) and Margery.

Reginald, born in 1839 and educated at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford. He died at Torquay in 1866.

Augusta Margaret born in May 1825 and baptized at Kilve. She died in 1880.

Charlotte, born in 1828 and died in 1842.

Caroline, born in 1829 and burned to death at Kilve Court in 1856.

Mary Anne, married in 1861 to Henry Anstey Bosanquet, barrister at law, afterwards of Clanville in Minehead.

Alexander, rector of East Quantockshead.



J. Opie.

JOHN FOWNES LUTTRELL.

1788.

Thomas, born on the 11th of September 1794 and baptized at Dunster. Like his three elder brothers, he was educated at Eton, whence he proceeded to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1814. Entering holy orders, he served the cure of Dunster from 1821 until 1872, holding also the vicarage of Minehead for some years, and from 1832 onwards the vicarage of Carhampton. At the close of his life, he built the school at Dunster, and he died there in December 1871.

Mary Anne, born on the 27th of July 1783, and baptized at Dunster. She was buried there in May 1835.

Margaret, born on the 8th of October 1784 and baptized at Dunster. She was buried there in June 1858.

Charlotte, born on the 23rd of March 1786 and baptized at Dunster. She was buried there in March 1791.

Harriet, born on the 21st of October 1788 and baptized at Dunster. She was buried there in April 1870.

John Fownes Luttrell died in February 1816 and was buried at Dunster. His relict survived until March 1829. There is a good portrait of him by Opie, for which he paid only four guineas in 1782, the artist being then young and almost unknown.¹ There is also a miniature of him set in diamonds.

A charming pair of oval drawings by John Downman, dated 1781, represents two Misses Drewe, Mary afterwards the wife of John Fownes Luttrell, and Charlotte afterwards the wife of his brother Francis Fownes Luttrell.

¹ In Rogers's *Opie and his works* (p. 122), this picture is stated to be in the possession of a Mr. J. S. Townsend, who cannot be identified.

JOHN FOWNES LUTTRELL THE SECOND was born on the 26th of August 1787 and baptized at Dunster. He was educated at Eton and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. Succeeding to the family estate in 1816, he soon increased it by purchasing the manor of Eastbury and Briddicot Farm, both situate in Carhampton and formerly the property of the Perceval family.

It has been seen above that this John Fownes Luttrell was returned as one of the members for Minehead during the lifetime of his father. He was duly re-elected without opposition in 1818 and after four subsequent dissolutions of Parliament, and on each occasion he nominated his own colleague. In the Reform Bill, Minehead, with an electorate of only two hundred and fifteen voters, mostly his tenants, was scheduled for disfranchisement. The proposal of course aroused his keen opposition. He and his agent prepared an elaborate case on behalf of the threatened constituency, giving such facts and statistics as appeared favourable to it, and some adroit references to the historic importance of Dunster. By way of showing that Minehead was not a mere pocket-borough of the Luttrells, the case states that there had been two contested elections there within the previous thirty years, though it prudently refrains from giving the dates of them. In proposing moreover that the parishes of Carhampton, Withycombe, Wootton Courtenay and Timberscombe should be included in the parliamentary borough, it does not mention that the Luttrell influence was predominant in at least two of them. Lord John Russell and his followers were not to be moved by such devices, and, in 1832, Minehead lost the right of sending up represent-

atives to Westminster. After its disfranchisement, John Fownes Luttrell stood for the western division of the county in the Tory interest, but he was not successful.¹ He died unmarried and was buried at Dunster on the 21st of January 1857.

HENRY FOWNES LUTTRELL, second son of the first John Fownes Luttrell, was born on the 7th of February 1790 and baptized at Dunster. He was educated at Eton and at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he proceeded B.A. On the death of his father in 1816, he was elected to succeed him as one of the Members for Minehead, and he was re-elected in 1818 and again in 1820, but he resigned his seat in 1822, in order to become one of the Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts. Many years of his life were spent in London, as he held office until 1849. He succeeded his brother John at Dunster in 1857, but died unmarried in October 1867.

GEORGE FOWNES LUTTRELL, eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Fownes Luttrell, was born at Kilve on the 27th of September 1826. He was educated at Eton, where he succeeded his cousin H.A. Fownes Luttrell as Captain of the Boats. He afterwards went to Christ Church, Oxford, and proceeded B.A. On the death of his father, he became Master of the West Somerset Fox-hounds, which he kept as a private pack for some years after his succession to his uncle, Henry Fownes Luttrell, in 1867.

In 1873, the Dunster estate comprised 15,374 acres, with a gross rental of 22,000*l.*² Viscount Portman, Sir J. H. Greville Smyth, and Sir Thomas Dyke Acland

¹ Some doggerel lines on 'Luttrell standing against Sanford' quoted in Hancock's *Minehead*, p. 361, refer to this election, and are unconnected with

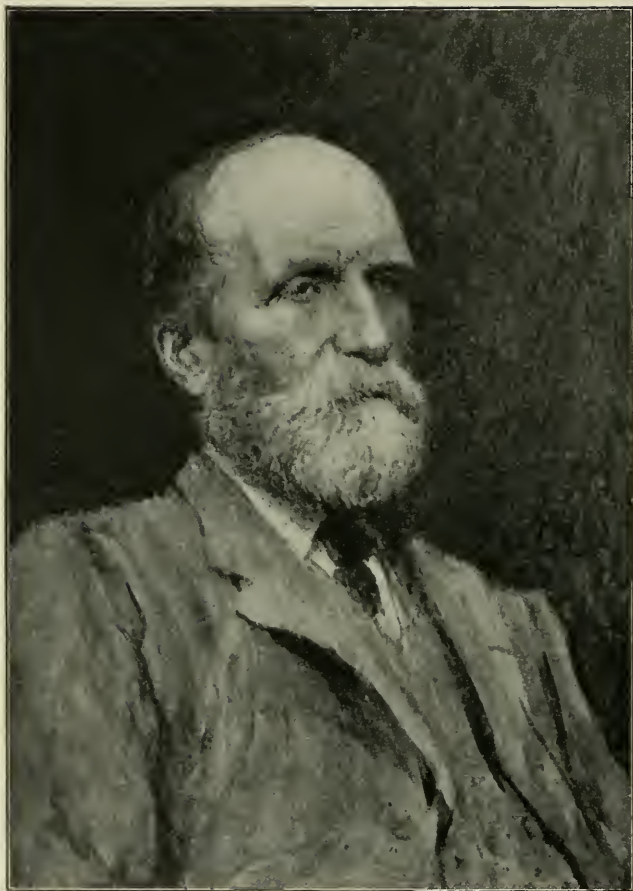
the history of the borough.

² Bateman's *Great Landowners*, (1883) p. 284.

were the only persons with a larger or more valuable property in Somerset. In addition to this, Mr. Luttrell was entered in 1873 as owning 1852 acres in Devonshire, the inheritance of the Fownes family, most of which he sold in the following year. The estate in Somerset had been materially enlarged in 1870, by the purchase of the manor of Old Cleeve, including the very interesting and beautiful remains of the Abbey of St. Mary in the Flowery Vale, those of the dependent Chapel of St. Mary a little to the north, and the Jacobean house called Binham. None who can remember the time when the cloisters of Cleeve Abbey served as pigstyes, can fail to appreciate the care that has been bestowed upon the monastic buildings during the last thirty years and more. In 1870, Avill was acquired from Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, in exchange for land between Minehead and Selworthy. Twenty-one years later, Aller in Carhampton, formerly the residence of the Everards, was added to the Luttrell estate. An interesting comparison might be drawn between the position of the medieval lords of Dunster, owning a number of isolated manors in different counties and that of their present representative, owning a large but more compact estate in the immediate neighbourhood of his own residence.

The important alterations made by Mr. Luttrell in the Castle and the Church at Dunster will be described in future chapters. Those made by him at Minehead, at East Quantockshead and elsewhere hardly come within the scope of the present volume.

A notable event in the local annals was the then Prince of Wales's visit to Dunster in August 1879, when he stayed two nights at the Castle, and went to a meet of the Devon and Somerset Stag-hounds at Hawkcombe Head.



Hubert Herkimer.

1892

GEORGE FOWNES LUTTRELL.

Mr. Luttrell married, in August 1852, Anne Elizabeth Periam, daughter of Sir Alexander Hood, baronet, and has issue :—

Alexander, born on the 1st of June 1855 and educated at Eton. After serving for about a year in the Rifle Brigade, he received a commission in the Grenadier Guards in 1876. He was in the Soudan campaign at Suakim in 1885 and became Captain. He married, in April 1886, Alice Edwina daughter of Colonel Munro Ferguson of Raith and Novar in Scotland, and has issue two sons :—

Geoffrey, born on the 20th of May 1887.

Ralph Paganel, born on the 26th of May 1889.
 Hugh Courtenay, born on the 10th of February 1857 and educated at Cheltenham. He served for some time in the Rifle Brigade and was Aide-de-Camp successively to Earls Cowper and Spencer when Lords Lieutenant of Ireland. He has been Member for the Tavistock division of Devonshire from 1892 to 1900 and from 1906 to the present time. He married in February 1904, Dorothy Hope, daughter of Sir William Wedderburn, baronet, and has issue three daughters, Mary, Louisa and Elizabeth.

Edward, born on the 24th of September 1858 and educated at Eton.

Claude Mohun, born on the 9th of September 1867, and educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford.

Mary.

Beatrice.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BOROUGH AND THE MANOR OF DUNSTER.

The earliest historical mention of Dunster is to be found in the survey of the lands of William de Mohun made in 1086. In the Exeter Domesday we read:—

“ William has a manor which is called Torra, which Alvrice held on the day on which King Edward was living and dead; and he paid geld for half a hide. One plough can till it. There William has his castle, and fifteen bordars, and two mills which pay ten shillings, and five acres of meadow and thirty acres of pasture. It is worth fifteen shillings and [it was worth] five shillings when he obtained it.”

In considering this brief record, it is necessary to bear in mind that the manor of Torre thus described was not co-extensive with the parish of Dunster. Avill, Alcombe and Staunton, alike belonging to William de Mohun in 1086 and always included in the parish, were separate manors. Each of them contained more arable land than Torre. On the basis of hidage, Alcombe and Staunton were more important than Torre, and Avill was equal to it. In actual value, Alcombe was worth more than Torre, and Avill and Staunton were worth less only because of the very great improvement of Torre during the two decades between the Norman invasion and the compilation of Domesday Book.

There is nothing in the quotation given above to show that the inhabitants of Dunster differed from those of the agricultural villages in the neighbourhood. In the course of the twelfth century, however, a little town grew up under the shadow of the mighty castle of the Mohuns. There is mention of toll levied there in 1177, and twenty years later Dunster is described as a borough which yielded 20*l.* a year to its lord.¹

When an attempt was made in 1222 to establish a market at Watchet, the government of Henry the Third caused it to be suppressed without delay, on the score that it would be injurious to the market of Dunster, the lord of that place being then a ward of the Crown.²

The following is a translation of the earliest charter relating to this market, under the seal of Reynold de Mohun the second :—

“Know all men present and future that I, Reynold de Moyhun, have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to Hugh Rondevin and Robert Luci and Robert the Hunter (*venatori*) and Roger Pryer and Robert Chipera and Simon Coc, my burgesses of Dunster, and their heirs, the right of having and for ever possessing of me and my heirs a market and fair in the same in North Street (*in eodem vico del Nord*), freely and quietly and wholly, and without removal and impediment of me and my heirs.

“On account of this gift and grant to be held of me and my heirs by them and their heirs for ever, the aforesaid burgesses have given to me a tun of wine of the price of forty shillings as an acknowledgement.

“In assurance of this, I have affixed my seal to this writing; these being witnesses :—Sir John de Regni, Roges son of Simon, William Everadd, Richard of Holne, Roger Pollard, Robert of Cogstane, Geoffrey of Kytensor, Geoffrey of Lucumbe, and others.”³

¹ Pipe Rolls.

² *Rotuli Litt. Clausarum*, vol. i. p. 527.

³ D.C.M. VIII. 1; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxviii. p. 874.

The following charter can be definitely assigned to the period between 1254 and 1258 :—

“ To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Reynold de Moyun, greeting. Know ye all that I have granted, released, and quit-claimed for ever for me and my heirs and all others who after me shall in any way be lords, or guardians, or bailiffs of Dunesterre, that the burgesses of that town or their heirs shall in no wise hereafter be made reeves, or farmers of the sea-port or of the toll of the borough or of the mills of the same town, against their will.

“ I have also granted to the same burgesses and their heirs that they shall be quit of yearly tallage, so that no tallage according to the custom of other boroughs of England shall be exacted from them save for reasonable and due cause.

“ I will moreover and grant for me and my heirs and all who shall be lords, or bailiffs, or guardians of Dunesterre, that the said burgesses and their heirs shall have common on Crowdon without any claim or impediment, as good for their use as they were wont to have in the time of any of [my] predecessors.

“ And that buyers or sellers in the market of Dunesterre shall be quit of toll, unless their buying or selling exceed twelve pence. Likewise fishermen and cornmongers shall be quit of toll in the said market for ever.

“ I will moreover, granting for me and my heirs, lords, guardians and bailiffs of Dunesterre, that hereafter we shall not be able to make prise (*captionem*) from the brew of any one in the same town beyond twenty-four gallons, that is to say four gallons for a penny. If, however, we shall wish to have more ale from that brew, it shall be bought at the rate at which buyers of the country (*patrie*) buy of the same. And that nobody hereafter shall make in the town of Dunesterre that ale which is called Reeve's Ale (*Cervisia Prepositii*). If, however, it shall have been made, the brewers (*pandoxatores*) of the same town shall not for that reason cease from brewing and making ale and selling as they ought if that ale had not been brewed.

“ And that if [the burgesses] shall fall into mercy for any

offence, they shall be quit for six pence, except for laying hands upon the lord, or the lady, or any of the household of the Castle.

“ And that after the buyings of the lord at the sea-port or in the aforesaid market have been made, [the burgesses] shall forthwith be able to buy whatever they may wish to buy without objection (*querela*) or hindrance, and that others of the country (*de patria*) shall not be able to do their buying before them.

“ And if they shall find a rabbit hurtful to them, they shall kill it and bring the skin to the Castle, and so be quit thereof.

“ And also that they shall openly use the same customs at the Hundred [court] and elsewhere as they were wont to use in the time of any of my predecessors.

“ All these things I have granted to the said burgesses and their heirs for ever, for the soul of John de Moyun, my firstborn son, of happy memory, and for twenty marks which the same burgesses have given to me.

“ Wherefore I will and grant for me and my heirs the lords, guardians and bailiffs of Dunesterre, that this my grant, release, and quit-claim shall remain valid and unshaken for ever. And lest I Reynold, or my heirs or any other lord, guardian, or bailiff of Dunesterre, shall be able to contravene this in any respect, for the greater assurance hereof, I have affixed my seal to the present writing. These being witnesses :—Sir Simon de Raleigh, Sir Roges of Porlok, Sir John Bretasch, Sir William le Bret, Philip of Lucumb, Richard Aylerd, Richard of Cloudesham, Hugh of Avele, Richard of Linc[oln], and many others. ”¹

The foregoing has been described as one of the large group of charters characterised by a limitation of the lord's ‘ mercy, ’ or power of amercement, the exception here being the case of an assault on an inhabitant of the Castle.²

One of the sections suggests that the rabbits on Conigar Hill had so multiplied as to become a nui-

¹ D.C.M. VIII. I.

pp. 92-110.

² *English Historical Review*, vol. xvi,

sance to the townsmen. By 1266, they had been exterminated and Conigar had become ordinary pasture in demesne. The rabbit-warren of the lords of Dunster in subsequent centuries was on flat ground near the sea, a little to the east of Minehead. The ' custom ' of Dunster with regard to the Hundred Court seems to have consisted in ignoring it altogether.

The following charter belongs to the period between 1269 and 1279 :—

“ To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, John de Moyun, greeting in the Lord. Know ye all that I have granted, confirmed and quit-claimed for ever, for me and my heirs, to all the burgesses of my town of Donestorre and their heirs all the liberties of the same town which Sir Reynold de Moyun, my grandfather, at any time gave and granted by his charter to the said burgesses and their heirs, as that charter witnesses in all points, without any claim to be made thence hereafter.

“ I have also granted to the said burgesses and their heirs [the right] to find yearly a suitable and faithful bailiff, to receive, present, and faithfully answer for all attachments made within the borough. And if the same bailiff for the time being shall in any way misbehave against the lord or the said burgesses or their heirs, he the same bailiff shall make amend to his lord, according to the custom of the borough; and in his place the said burgesses shall put another bailiff suitable for the lord's work.

“ For this grant, confirmation and quit-claim the said burgesses have given to me twenty shillings in hand. In witness wherof I have affixed my seal to the present writing. These being witnesses :— Sir John de Brytasch, knight, Philip of Luccomb, Richard of Cloudesham, John of Holne, Geoffrey of Kytenare, Geoffrey le Tort, William Everard, William Pyrou, Robert de la Putte, and others. ” ¹

With regard to the foregoing it is only necessary to observe that in most manors the bailiff, or bedel,

¹ D.C.M. VIII. 1 ; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxviii. p. 874.

“ was an outsider appointed by the lord ” to look after his interests. ¹

The next charter to the burgesses bears a specific date :—

“ To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear the present writing, John de Moyun the Third, lord of Dunsterre, greeting in the Lord. Know ye all that I have granted and confirmed for ever for me and my heirs to all the burgesses of my town of Dunsterre and their heirs all the liberties of the same town which Sir Reynold de Moyun, my great-grandfather, gave and granted by his charter to the same burgesses and their heirs.

“ I have also granted to the same burgesses and their heirs the estate (*statum*) and liberty which they had by a certain writing made to the same burgesses by Sir John de Moyun, my father.

“ I have furthermore granted to the same burgesses and their heirs for ever, on account of the love which I bear to the said burgesses, that they shall have furze (*jaones*), whorts (*moritas*), turves (*turbas*), fern (*fugeras*) and heath (*brueras*), sufficient for their fuel on my hill of Croudou, for ever.

“ Provided that by reason of this grant nobody sojourning within the borough of Dunsterre shall in any wise have or hold the aforesaid liberties or grants except the burgesses and their heirs or those who hold a whole burgage in the same borough.

“ And that this my grant and confirmation may remain approved and valid for ever, I have affixed my seal to the present writing. These being witnesses :—Sir Andrew Loterel, knight, William Osberne then constable of Dunsterre, Gilbert de la Putte, Roger Arundel, Ralph Fitzurse, Robert of Bratton, and Ralph le Tort. Dated at Dunsterre on Thursday before the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Edward.” [A.D. 1301.] ²

In 1571, Croydon common was stated to contain

¹ Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England*, p. 318.

² D.C.M. VIII. I.

about two thousand acres "very commodious" to the town of Dunster "for the necessary fuell, heath and turfe growinge" there.¹

The same John de Mohun issued a further charter a few years after that given above :—

"To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear the present writing, John de Mohun, lord of Dunsterre, greeting in the Lord. Know ye all that I have granted and confirmed for ever for me and my heirs to all my burgesses of my town of Dunsterre and their heirs and all who hold a whole burgage that they shall freely dig and at their pleasure carry away slime (*slymam*) for improving their lands, in the whole of my marsh between the road that leads to the sea-port of Dunsterre and the marsh of Richard of Avele ; and that they shall have common of pasture with all their plough-cattle (*averiiis*) at every time of the year, except in my several marsh which is called Estmersh, [so] that they shall neither dig there and carry away, nor have common there with their plough cattle. Provided that by reason of this grant nobody sojourning within the borough of Dunsterre shall in any wise have or hold the aforesaid liberties or grants except the burgesses and their heirs or those who hold a whole burgage in the same borough.

"And that this my gift, grant and confirmation may remain approved and valid for ever, I have affixed my seal to the present writing. These being witnesses :— Sir Henry of Glastonbury, knight, William Osbern, steward, Geoffrey of Loccombe, Gilbert de la Putte, Roger Arundel, Robert of Bratton, Ralph le Tort, and others. Dated at Dunsterre on Friday next after the feast of St. James the Apostle in the thirty-fifth year of King Edward. "²

There is some error in the date of this charter, for Edward the First died on the 7th of July 1307, and the feast of St. James was on the 25th of the month. The validity of the grant seems to have been question-

¹ Chancery Proceedings, Series II, bundle 117, no. 59.

² D.C.M. viii. i. The original char-

ter, formerly preserved in a chest in Dunster Church, is now at the Castle.

ed by George Luttrell in the reign of Elizabeth, on the ground that the burgesses of Dunster were not a corporation. It may be useful to note here that the East Marsh reserved as above then comprised about forty acres used as a rabbit-warren and commonly known by the name of ' Coleborrowes. '

The following charter was issued by the same John de Mohun in 1324 :—

" To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear the present writing, John de Mohun, lord of Dunsterre, greeting in the Lord. Know ye all that I have given and granted for me and my heirs and all others lords, guardians, [or] bailiffs of Dunsterre to all the burgesses of my town of Dunster continuing for ever twenty gallons of ale out of the twenty-four gallons of ale formerly due to me from every brew. I will also and grant for me and my heirs and all lords, guardians and bailiffs whomsoever, that hereafter we shall not be able to make or have prise (*capcionem*) of the brew of anyone in the same town, except four gallons of ale from a brew as I had them and was wont from the past term, and those of the ale which the bailiff found on sale on the day of search.

" And I, the aforesaid John de Mohun, and my heirs will warrant, acquit and defend for ever to the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs and all who continue in the aforesaid town the aforesaid twenty gallons of ale against all mortals. In testimony whereof I have affixed my seal to this present writing. These being witnesses :— Sir Henry of Glastonbury, knight, Ralph le Tort, Geoffrey of Loccumbe, William of Kytenore, William of Holne, Robert Everard, Geoffrey of Avele, and others. Dated at Dunsterre on Sunday after the feast of the Purification of Our Lady in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Edward, the son of King Edward." [A.D. 1324.]¹

There must have been a good deal of brewing at Dunster at this period, for, some six years after the date of the foregoing charter, the lord's prise of ale

¹ D.C.M. VIII. I.

in the town was valued at 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.¹ The subject will be mentioned again in connexion with the courts of the borough. Camden, Gerard and Fuller agree in stating that the last Lady de Mohun of Dunster obtained from her husband as much ground as common for the inhabitants of the town as she could walk round barefoot in one day. The story, which reminds one partly of Dido and partly of Lady Godiva, might be dismissed as fabulous were it not for the fact that these three writers had access to a chronicle of the Mohun family composed in the lifetime of this lady and actually dedicated to her.² It is, however, necessary to observe that there is no record of any charter to the burgesses of Dunster granted by her husband.

In 1346, the town of Dunster was called upon to provide three armed men to serve in the wars of Edward the Third.³ Four years later, only one such man was demanded.⁴ In 1360, for the first and last time, Dunster sent up two members to Parliament, in the persons of Walter Morys and Thomas Carter.⁵ The little borough never had a mayor or an alderman. On the other hand it was considered competent to receive land and otherwise to act in a corporate capacity.⁶ Such property as vested in it was apparently held under an implied trust for the churchwardens, or for one of the chantries.⁷ In 1355, and again in 1498, there are specific mentions of the common seal of the commonalty of the town of Dunster, every vestige of which has long since disappeared.⁸

¹ Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. III. file 22 (II).

² *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. iv. p. 252.

³ Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. iii. p. 71.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 194.

⁵ *Return of Members of Parliament*,

vol. I. p. 164.

⁶ Inq. ad quod damnum, file 344, no. 6; D.C.B. nos. 12, 19, 43, 46.

⁷ D.C.B. no. 48. Bishop King's Register at Wells, f. 45.

⁸ D.C.B. no. 41.



DUNSTER,
FROM THE HANGER.

From some of the charters given above, it appears that nobody was accounted a burgess of Dunster who did not hold a whole burgage. The ground on either side of the different streets had, at an early period, been cut up into narrow strips, each affording space for a house with a yard or a garden behind. The tenements on the eastern side of the High Street were separated from the Hanger Park by a continuous paling or wall ; those opposite were similarly separated from the Priory Green. In some parts of the town, the arrangement was not quite so symmetrical. Each strip of normal size was known as a burgage and was held of the lord by the free tenure of that name. As in several other ancient boroughs, the rent was usually a shilling a year for each burgage, a substantial amount not far below the actual value of the premises when first acquired.

Subject to this and some other obligations to be mentioned hereafter, the burgess could deal with his holding as he chose, and he could even bequeath it by will, at a time when testamentary powers over land were very restricted. The lord therefore never got an escheat unless a bastard tenant died intestate. All the burgesses were, as such, essentially free men, though of course they might also be tenants of agricultural land in the manor liable to the ordinary conditions of villein service.

While all the burgages were, as the name implies, situate within the borough, they were not necessarily single houses inhabited by burgesses. A barn, or even a void plot of ground, might be accounted a burgage. There is occasional mention of half-burgages. On the other hand there might be two dwellings on one burgage. By the seventeenth century, however, the medieval meaning of a ' burgage ' as a piece of ground

held by burgage tenure, had been largely forgotten, and the term had come to be regarded more or less as an equivalent to 'message' or 'tenement,' and to be applied to houses not held "according to the custom of the borough."

We may fairly suppose that, as originally allotted, each burgage had a separate owner, who was also the occupier. The unrestricted power of alienation, however, tended to reduce the number of burgesses, or, in other words, to concentrate the burgages in a limited number of hands. A prosperous tradesman might acquire a burgage next to his own, in order to enlarge his premises. So again, anyone wanting an investment for surplus money might buy a burgage, in order to let it, at a time when the yearly value had come to be much greater than the fixed rent payable to the lord. At Dunster, this rent seems to have been always due from the owner, the lord ignoring the mere occupier. If it was not paid, the lord apparently had no easy remedy except distress upon any goods to be found on the premises.¹

In the course of the later middle ages, several burgages in Dunster were acquired by the Abbot and Convent of Cleeve, the Prior of Dunster, and the local gilds of St. Lawrence and the Holy Trinity. All these fell into the hands of the Crown at the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent suppression of chantries, but subject to the rents payable to Sir Andrew or Sir John Luttrell.

An 'extent' of the year 1266 shows that the total number of burgages in Dunster was then 176½. Twelve of the burgages in different parts of the town belonged to the Benedictine Prior. Robert of Gallockswell had seven, all apparently situate near the

¹ D.C.M. I. 27; IX. 2.

place of that name beyond the river. The surnames of many of the other burgesses indicate their respective vocations :— ‘ Mazun, ’ Smith, Carpenter, ‘ Poter, ’ Baker, ‘ Cok, ’ Webber, Fuller, ‘ Corour, ’ ‘ Tannere, ’ ‘ Glovere, ’ ‘ Chepman, ’ Miller, ‘ Gardiner, ’ Fisher, Hunter (*venator*), Wake (*vigil*), Clerk and Chaplain. Others took their names from the places at which they dwelt, the Marsh, the Bridge, the Bar, the Corner, the Well, and the Churchyard. Roger Wyschard may be mentioned as a representative of the Norman element in the population, and John Portman of the English. Among the more curious names in the list are those of William le Nywecomestone, Maud le Dublesterre, Nicholas Bukkehorn, Alice Stoukedostre, and Joan Cokeslop. A few of the burgesses had only one name recorded, such as Stou, Wyncestre, Cheffynge, Hunygod, Couleman and Scherpe, but it is not necessary to suppose that they had received them at their baptism.¹

The court-roll of 1381 records the admission of some new burgesses, at the usual rent of a shilling, but they obtained only estates for life.² If a burgage came into the lord’s hands by escheat, by purchase, or by surrender, he could deal with it more or less as he pleased, imposing upon a new tenant conditions to which the representatives of the original burgesses were not subject. Thus the following entry occurs in the court-roll of the borough for the year 1413 :—

“ To this court comes Thomas Touker the younger and he gives to the lord 12*d.* as a fine for having estate and entry in a burgage lying on the south side of Grobbefast-pathe, which William Jone lately held, to hold according to the custom of the manor, rendering therefor and doing the same rents and services as the aforesaid William was wont to

¹ D.C.M. viii. 4.

² D.C.M. ix. 5.

render and do. And he will build a new house of one couple (*copul*) and two 'inschydes' upon the said burgage within two years, according to agreement. And he was admitted tenant and did fealty." ¹

In all such cases, the payment made for entry is described as a 'fine.' New tenants were from time to time admitted in open court in the fifteenth century, to hold "according to the custom of the borough." They may perhaps be regarded as copyholders, and there is specific mention of a conveyance by Sir Andrew Luttrell, in 1537, of "a tenement or burgage in Dunster" to be held for lives "by copy of the roll." ² On the other hand the successors of the original burgesses did not hold 'by copy of court roll.' Their tenure is often described in the rolls as 'socage,' of which indeed it was only a variety. A widow at Dunster could claim the 'capital mesuage', or principal house, of her deceased husband, to hold 'in free bench' until her remarriage or death. ³

There is unfortunately no written custumal defining the exact relation of the free burgesses of Dunster to their lord. It is, however, abundantly clear that he was entitled to a small pecuniary sum upon every transfer of a burgage, at any rate in all cases when the new owner was not already a burges. In 1381, this payment is described as 'toll' (*toln*), but in the following century it is usually styled 'boroughright', spelt in various ways. ⁴ The writers of the court-rolls seem to have been rather confused as to the meaning of the term, and, in 1532, we find it applied to the tenure, instead of the custom or the payment. ⁵

A great number of instances might be cited to show that the lord received 4*d.* from every burgage con-

¹ D.C.M. xi. 2.

² D.C.M. xiv. 9.

³ Placita de Banco, 348. m. 320.

See Bracton.

⁴ D.C.M. ix. 5; x. 2. 3; xi. 2; xii. 1-4.

⁵ D.C.M. xiii. 3.

vayed by one living person to another. The following will, however, suffice :—

1426, April 22. “Burghryght, 14*d.* Fealty. To this [court] comes John Orchard the younger and gives to the lord of ‘burghryght’ for three burgages and a half which he acquired of John Frank, clerk, to him and Alice his wife and heirs lawfully begotten between them ; and he did fealty to the lord for the same.”¹

The charge on an estate for life was the same as that on an estate in perpetuity. In cases of transfer to several persons jointly, such as feoffees, the lord sometimes exacted 4*d.* from each of the new tenants, but the practice in this respect seems to have been variable. The lord also got 4*d.* from every burgage on the death of the owner.

1432, December 22. “To this [court] come John Bloundehelfe and Joan his wife, daughter and heiress of John Duke of Dunsterre, deceased, and claim to hold of the lord three burgages within the borough there, to hold to the same John and Joan, their heirs and assigns for ever, whence there accrues to the lord of a certain custom of the said borough for the aforesaid three burgages a certain render called ‘burghryght,’ that is to say 4*d.* from every burgage, 12*d.* And so the same John and Joan were admitted tenants, and did fealty.”²

1462, October 24. “On this day came George Stukeley, son and heir of Richard Stukeley, and did fealty to the lord for a burgage in Dunster late of the said Richard and paid ‘burghryght,’ that is to say 4*d.*”³

Nevertheless, the steward was sometimes content to accept 4*d.* from persons inheriting “divers burgages” when the number was not exactly specified.

In 1503, and several subsequent years, the payment made by every new burgess on admission is described in the rolls as ‘relief,’ a term borrowed from the

¹ D.C.M. XII. 1.

³ D.C.M. XII. 4.

² D.C.M. XII. 2.

feudal vocabulary.¹ So long as the ancient custom of the borough was maintained, one name was as good as another. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, however, a new system of assessment was established, the amount of 'relief' being fixed at two years' rent. At a court held on the 6th of October 1522, it was found that no less than five of the free burgesses had recently died—John Wylkyns who paid 2*s.* yearly, Sir John Trevelyan who paid 3*s.* 6*d.*, Thomas Stoway who paid 1*s.*, John Lewes who paid 1*s.* 6*d.* and John Ellisworth who paid 3*s.* 4*d.* In each of these cases the relief due to the lord was set down at double the amount of the rent.² How the change was introduced the rolls do not show. The lord must assuredly have surrendered some ancient right or due when the fee on admission to a freehold burgage of normal value was thus suddenly raised from 4*d.* to 2*s.*

A fresh oath of fealty seems to have been required from every burges of Dunster on the accession of a new lord.

For some time after the reign of Henry the Eighth, the rolls of the borough court are so irregular that it is impossible to say when the oath of fealty and the payment of 'boroughright', or 'relief', on succession ceased to be exacted. The following entry occurs among the proceedings of a court leet and court baron held on the 18th of October 1735 :—

"We present a releiffe due to the lord of this burrough upon the death of Mr. Giles Poyntz leatly deceased, who died seized of land or burgeges within this burrough, upon whose death, by the information of Mr. Thomas Prowse, steward of this court, there was due two pounds, four shillings, and fourpence due to the lord of the said burrough for such said releiffe, which [is] not yet paid."

¹ D.C.M. XIII. 1.

² D.C.M. XIII. 3.

The amount thus claimed was exactly double the yearly rent due from Poyntz for various burgages.

The amount of rent paid yearly at Martinmas by the burgesses of Dunster seems to have fluctuated slightly in the middle ages. The total was 9*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* in 1259 and 1267. At the beginning of the reign of Edward the Fourth, it should have been 8*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* but, perhaps in consequence of political troubles, many of the burgages were unoccupied and 1*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* could not be collected.¹ It was 8*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* in the reign of Henry the Eighth, but it afterwards declined steadily, possibly through a decrease in the urban population, possibly through purchases made by successive owners of the Castle.² In 1648, there is a list of "Heigh rents payable yearlie at Saint Martin's daie," amounting to only 5*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* Out of this the Crown was liable for 1*l.* 6*s.* in respect of burgages that had belonged to Cleeve Abbey and to chantries suppressed in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and Giles Poyntz of Lower Marsh was liable for 1*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*³ By 1746, the burgage rents had fallen further to 4*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*, of which 1*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* was due from John Poyntz, and 16*s.* 8*d.* from the heirs of Sir Hugh Stewkley. The date of payment had also been altered from Martinmas to Michaelmas.⁴

In course of time, the burgage rents came to be regarded merely as payments for the right of depasturing nine ewes and a ram in the Salt Marsh.⁵ A few persons more closely connected with the manor of Carhampton were occasionally admitted to similar rights on payment of a shilling a year.⁶

Between the years 1760 and 1772, Henry Fownes

¹ D.C.M. i. 27.

² Bailiffs' accounts and Inq. post mortem, *passim*.

³ D.C.M. iii. 12.

⁴ Survey by John St. Albyn. D.C.M.

⁵ Savage's *Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 378.

⁶ D.C.M. iii. 12.

Luttrell bought up the rights pertaining to fifty-four burgages out of a total of eighty-five ; and his son's purchase of the whole Stewkley estate in Dunster, about 1790, made a further considerable reduction in the number. As late as 1819, there were a few outstanding rights of pasture in the Salt Marsh, but it had been altogether forgotten that the payments of a shilling a year represented an ancient rent for property in the town to which the lord had a reversionary right in certain contingencies. The Salt Marsh was finally divided by the Inclosure Commissioners in 1865.

It has been seen above that, in the later part of the thirteenth century, Sir John de Mohun had made over to the burgesses of Dunster the right of electing the bailiff of the borough. In course of time, however, they ceased to act together as a corporation, and the right reverted to the lord.

In 1621, Robert Poore paid 12*l.* for the bailiwick of the borough, including the benefit of the outstandings, the weighing of yarn and wool and all other merchandise brought to the Town-hall to be weighed, the benefit of the two fairs on "Whitesun Mundaie and Good Frydaie," and "a certaine rent paid yerly by the tanners betweene Martyns daie and Christmas Eve called Larder-silver."

In 1629, George Luttrell demised to Andrew Worth of Dunster, yeoman, his executors and assigns, for twenty-one years, "all that the office and bailywicke of the borough of Dunster ... and also the outstandings, coveridge-money, and pitching-pence on the fayre daies and markett daies.... together with the benefitt and profit of tollage and also of weighing of yarne in the New Hall and elsewhere within the borough aforesaid, and likewise the rents, yssues, and profitts of

the butchers' standings on Whitson Monday yerely," and all other advantages belonging to the bailiwick, reserving to himself and his heirs "all instandings and shoppes" and the rents usually paid to him. He also undertook to provide "fit, necessary, and sufficient boordes, tressells, forckes and poles for the standings aforesaid, as often as neede shall require." The yearly rent of 10*l.* to be paid by the lessee is explicitly stated to be the ancient rent for the bailiwick.¹

In the record of proceedings at the court leet in October 1739, we find :—

"Samuel Matthews was at this court elected by the lady of the manor bailiff of the borough of Dunster during pleasure, and he was then sworn to the due execution of his office."

Later on we find the following :—

"Conditions of a survey held on Thursday the 29th September 1763, at the *Ship Inn* in Dunster in the county of Somerset for setting (*sic*) the Cornhouse, Markethouse, Tubhouse and butchers' shambles in Dunster aforesaid, together with the reasonable use of all the tubs, pecks and other measures, boards, trussels, poles, beams, scales and weights that now are in or belong to the Markethouse and market aforesaid, and all tolls and other advantages, emoluments, profits and priviledges of the market and fair to be holden and kept in Dunster aforesaid and which to the clerk of the market of Dunster aforesaid do or may belong and of right appertain, except all the inclosed shops and other rooms taken out of the Markethouse, for the term of seven years."

This 'survey' was a sort of auction, at which different persons stated the yearly rent which they were respectively willing to pay, and the bids rose from 4*l.* to 60*l.* at which figure the lease was granted to George Gale.

¹ D.C.M. xv. 22. Cf. however D.C.M. xiv. 33, 41.

In documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the profits of the market of Dunster are often associated with those of the sea-port. When royal writs and proclamations were addressed to the different ports of the realm, there were only two places in Somerset to which they were sent, Bridgewater and Dunster.¹ In 1375, the *St. Marie Cog* of Dunster, a vessel of 57 tons, valued with its cargo at 275*l.* was taken or destroyed near the mouth of the Loire.² Soon after this, Minehead came into notice as a port, and it gradually supplanted Dunster. It was from Minehead that the *Leonard* of Dunster sailed to Bordeaux in 1417.³ In 1565, Watchet, Dunster Haven, and Porlock Bay are described as places in the precinct of Bridgewater at which "smalle botes" were wont to land "salte, wyne, vyctualles, wood and coole."⁴ There had recently been trouble about the second of these places. According to an information filed by the Attorney General, the Portreeve and burgesses of Minehead, relying upon their new charter, would not allow any "ship, boat, or vessel" to put into Dunster Haven. To enforce their prohibition, they used, he averred, to carry off the sail of any offending craft, and to imprison the master and crew. They also claimed control over the sale of merchandise and victuals at the Haven.⁵

Eventually nature put an end to the maritime commerce of Dunster. At best its port was no more than a creek at the mouth of the little river, and in process of time it got silted up with alluvial matter. The course of the river has been changed so much in

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. ii. p. 701 ; vol. iii. pp. 125, 460, 495, 500, 728 ; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 101 ; 1337-1339, p. 379 ; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 487.

² Chancery Miscellanea, bundle 28.

³ See above, page 88.

⁴ Exchequer, K.R. Special Commissions, 1928.

⁵ Memoranda Roll, K.R. Easter, 3 Eliz. m. 109.

recent years that the very site of the medieval Haven of Dunster can hardly be recognised, but a long pool of fresh water near Sea Lane is still known as 'the Hawn.'

Along a considerable part of the coast of Somerset the lords of Dunster have for centuries claimed the right known as 'wreck of sea.' There is mention of 'the wreck of Dunestor' as early as the year 1182.¹ When a ship going from Ireland to Wales was wrecked at Dunster in 1311, the people of the country, presumably tenants of Sir John de Mohun, carried away the cargo.² So again, in the reign of Richard the Second, the local agents of Lady de Mohun seized the sulphur, woad, ginger, raisins, writing-paper, flax, sugar, prunes, rice, cinnamon, pepper, and other merchandise of Ludovico Gentili and Cosimo Doria of Genoa, found in a ship driven on to the same shore.³ Numerous instances have been adduced, from the court-rolls and other sources, of the exercise of the right to wreck in subsequent centuries, the Luttrells claiming it from the Foreland in the parish of Countesbury to Shurton Bars in the parish of Stoke Courcy, a stretch of some thirty-two miles. In 1857, the Board of Trade explicitly admitted the title of the late John Fownes Luttrell to unclaimed wreck washed ashore between the eastern boundary of the parish of Lillstock and the stream dividing the counties of Devon and Somerset, thus somewhat cur-tailing the line.⁴

In the absence of any royal charter conferring

¹ Pipe Roll.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 311.

³ Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 75.

⁴ Hancock's *Minehead*, pp. 35, 36. The official letter pleonastically mentions "the honour and borough of

Dunster, the manors of Minehead and Carhampton, the hundred of Carhampton, and the manor of Kilton," as if each of these properties conferred separate rights in this respect, and uses the word 'comprising' in a misleading sense.

privileges upon the early lords of Dunster, we might suppose that they were entitled to wreck of sea along the whole coast of the Hundred of Carhampton and along the coast of all manors comprised in the Honour, or Barony, of Dunster. Shurton, excluded by the Board of Trade, would consequently have been in their jurisdiction. On the other hand it is obviously unlikely that they had any established rights on the coast of such manors as Stoke Courcy, Kilve, or East Quantockshead, which were neither in their Hundred nor in their Barony. A royal charter of 1267 gave to the Abbot and Convent of Cleeve wreck of sea along their own piece of the coast, and it is known that the Walerands and the Fitzpayns claimed a similar right in their manor of Stoke Courcy.¹ The cartulary of the Mohun family, compiled by John Osberne in 1350, states explicitly that among the privileges pertaining to Dunster was that of wreck along the whole coast of the Hundred of Carhampton, from the water of Oare to that of Sheotemouth near the Chapel of St. Mary of Cleeve.

There is abundant evidence that successive lords of the manors of Minehead, Dunster, and Carhampton have been entitled to the foreshore adjoining. Their court-rolls and accounts abound in references to 'staches' and 'weres' by the sea as sources of revenue. It is believed that upright stakes fixed on a rough wall near low water mark were formerly connected with 'freething,' or wattles, so as to catch fish stranded by the reflux of the tide. According to modern practice, moveable nets are affixed to the stakes for the same purpose.

Leland, writing in the reign of Henry the Eighth, notes that "the Moions had *jura regalia* at Dunster."²

¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. ii. p. 69; *Assize Roll*, no. 759, mm. 5, 9d.; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1307-1313,

p. 254.

² *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), p. 166.

One of these rights was that of treasure trove throughout the Hundred of Carhampton. Another was that of hanging thieves caught with the stolen goods upon them. Although this ceased to be exercised at an early period, the names of Gallockstreet, Gallocksbridge, Gallockswell, Gallockscross and Gallocksdown have survived. John Osberne, writing in 1350, mentions gallows called 'Scamerdon', common to Dunster and Carhampton.¹ There were also gallows at Minehead, not far from Lower Hopcot.² Another highly valued right of the Mohuns was the 'extract,' or 'return,' of writs, the sheriff of the county being precluded from executing any royal instructions within their privileged area save through the agency of their bailiff.³

Leland states briefly that "the toun of Dunestorre makith cloth." ⁴ Local notices of this industry extend over more than five centuries of English history. In an elaborate 'extent' of the manor of Dunster made in 1266, we may observe the names of Adam the dyer, Walter the webber (*textor*), William the fuller, Alice the webber (*textrix*) and Christina the webber.⁵ In 1259, as again in 1279, 1330 and 1376, a fulling-mill yielded a rent of 13s. 4d. to the lord of the manor.⁶ This was presumably the building described in 1411 and 1437 as "le tokyng mill."⁷

The business seems to have increased, for in 1376, the reeve of Dunster accounted for 12d. "of the new rent of William Taillour at Hocktide and Michaelmas for a fulling-mill which the said William has erected over the lord's watercourse."⁸ In 1418, this mill is

¹ Mohun Cartulary.

² D.C.M. VIII. 6 ; xxxi. 5.

³ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, vol. ii. p. 125; Pollock & Maitland's *History of English Law*, vol. i. pp. 583, 644.

⁴ *Itinerary*, p. 166.

⁵ D.C.M. VIII. 4.

⁶ D.C.M. XVII. 2 ; Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 22 (1); Edw. III. file 22 (11) ; D.C.M. IX. 2.

⁷ D.C.M. X. 1 ; XI. 3.

⁸ D.C.M. IX. 2.

described as situate near 'le Colverhay.' Thomas Touker was then paying the old rent of 13s. 4d. for a fulling mill 'under Grobhurst;' a third mill 'near Barlebienshey (*sic*)' yielded 2s.; and the Abbot of Cleeve had a fourth in or near West Street.¹ A few years later, only three such mills are mentioned, that situate under Parlbienishay, that rented by Thomas Touker at Frilford or Frekeford, and that which Thomas Touker the younger rented from the Abbot of Cleeve.² In the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Fifth, one of the public highways in Dunster was known as 'Toukerstrete.' As it certainly adjoined some running water, it may have been the continuation of West Street towards Frackford.³ In the later part of the reign of Henry the Sixth, Robert Touker paid yearly rent for a fulling-mill newly built on the eastern side of the Castle, but presumably far below it.⁴

In 1467, an order was made by the borough court :—

"That nobody shall henceforth make linen cloth of 'flockys,' and if it be proved by anyone that then the cloth so made shall be forfeited to the lord." ⁵

In 1492, three persons were amerced for polluting the river between Dunster and Dunster Hanger with "le wodewater," and an order was made :—

"That no dyer shall henceforth put or throw 'le wodewater' in the lord's stream (*rivulo*) before eight o'clock at night, under pain of 40d. every time."

In 1494, there were two presentments at the court :—

"William Morgan has unlawfully made his cloth mixed

¹ D.C.M. xi. 1. Parlebienshay was so called after a man who bore the French nickname of 'Parlebien.'

² D.C.M. xviii. 3, 4.

³ D.C.M. x. 3; xi. 2.

⁴ D.C.M. xviii. 4.

⁵ D.C.M. xii. 4.

with 'flokkes,' to the detriment of his neighbours, and contrary to the statute issued on this behalf. Therefore he is amerced 40*d.* "

" John Lechelond unlawfully makes his cloth with 'cardes' (*i.e.* thistles), contrary to the statute. Therefore he is amerced 3*d.* "

It is interesting to note traces of a Sabbatarian spirit at this period. At a court held in April 1491, it was ordained :—

" That no fuller shall henceforth allow his mills to make cloth from the time of evensong on Saturday until after vespers on Sunday, under pain of 6*s.* 8*d.*, whereof 40*d.* to the lord and 40*d.* to the church. "

Two fullers were amerced in that year for breach of this ordinance.¹

Special arrangements were necessary for drying the cloth after the process of 'fulling,' or 'tucking.' In 1459, a member of the trade was empowered to make a 'tentorium,' called " in English 'le reck' " on the 'Castel Torre' at Dunster on a strip of ground measuring 63 feet by 18.² In 1486, there were several 'tenters,' or racks 'on Grobfaste,' and the bailiff of the borough accounted to Sir Hugh Luttrell for 6*d.* received from John Cok for one tenter and for 2*s.* 6*d.* for divers tenters. In the following year, he debited himself with 7*s.* 'new rent' for tenters set up 'on the Castle Tor' and 'on Grobfast.'³ In 1529, Thomas Everard the younger paid rent to the lord of Dunster for "a clotherack caulyd the myddell racke upon Grobfast, with a fullyng myll caulyd Frekeford," which has been already mentioned.⁴

By a will dated in 1571, Richard Worth of Dunster bequeathed 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the use of young beginners

¹ D.C.M. XIII. 1.

² D.C.M. XII. 3.

³ D.C.M. XIII. 2.

⁴ D.C.M. XIX. 8.

exercising the art of cloth-making in the borough.¹ Later in the reign of Elizabeth, the tucking-mill with two stocks that had formerly belonged to the Abbot of Cleeve was pulled down by the grantee, Colle, in order to make room for two new grist-mills. George Luttrell, as owner of the ancient manorial grist-mills, retaliated by diverting a part of the water-course, whereupon Colle brought a suit against for him breaking the head-weir at Hurlepool.²

In 1589, George Howe of Dunster, clothier, built "one tuckinge or fullinge mill" of two "stooks" adjoining the eastern end of the "water griste mille," situate "under the Castell Torre, on the south parte thereof." In consideration of his expenses, he obtained from George Luttrell a lease for twenty-one years of the said new mill, a close called Culvercliffe containing two acres, with a rack standing therein 'under Grobhurst,' two "rackromes" standing on the south-western part of the Castle Tor, and a little plot called the 'Hopkegarden' on the western side of the common ryne adjoining the grist-mill, the whole at the nominal rent of 26*s.* 8*d.*³

There is a parliamentary enactment of 1601 that

"Dunster cotton hereafter shalbe by this present acte intended and taken to be of like length and breadth as Taunton and Bridgewater cloth."⁴

Six years later, there is a further enactment :—

"That every broad cloth commonly called Tauntons, Bridgewaters and Dunsters, made in the western part of Somersetshire, or elsewhere of like making, shall contain, being thoroughly wet, between twelve and thirteen yards, and in breadth seven quarters of a yard at the least, and being well scoured, thicked, milled and fully dried, shall weigh thirty pounds the cloth at least."⁵

¹ Brown's *Somersetshire Wills*, vol. ii. p. 81.

² D.C.M. xv. 4.

³ D.C.M. xiv. 29.

⁴ St. 43 Eliz. c. 10.

⁵ St. 4. Jac. I. c. 2.

It was for the sale of cloth that George Luttrell built the octagonal Market-House which is so picturesque a feature in the main street of Dunster.

In 1655, there is mention of a piece of waste land beaten out of the rock at the lower end of West Street, adjoining the mill-stream, under a close called 'Racke Cloase' wherein stood divers fullers' racks. Two years later, Francis Luttrell received 35*s.* for the rent of seven 'rack rooms' then in use, of which five were on the Castle Tor. By 1670, the total number of rack-rooms had risen to nine, but the rent therefrom had fallen to 30*s.*

In 1713, William Leigh of Dunster, clothier, took a lease of a messuage called 'Frackford,' comprising a dwelling-house and two fulling-mills, with a coppice called 'Rack Close' situate 'under Goose Wheekes Path,' with the right of setting up racks on the side of Grabbist Hill. From 1682 to 1760, the smaller fulling-mill next to the old grist-mills seems to have been in the hands of successive members of the Hos-som family, who latterly paid only 6*s.* 8*d.* rent and a heriot, or fine, of 13*s.* 4*d.* on succession. It is described as "of no value" in 1746 "by reason of the badness of trade." A tenant was, however, found for it six years later, and in 1777 it was supposed to yield 8*l.* a year to the owner of the Castle. The fullers' rack rents which brought in 3*l.* 8*s.* in 1719 had by 1746 sunk to 1*l.*, there being only five let at 4*s.* apiece. After 1764, they disappear from the rental. Nevertheless, Henry Fownes Luttrell thought it worth while, in 1765, to convert a grist-mill, which he had bought from one Ingram, into a fulling-mill. This, with a piece of meadow, yielded at first 15*l.* a year, but only 8*l.* in 1779. Ingram may have been the eventual successor of Colle mentioned above.

Savage, writing in 1830 with regard to the industry of Dunster in the eighteenth century says :—

“At that time the female inmates of farm houses, in this and the neighbouring district, from the mistress to the apprentice maid, and the wives and daughters of the labourers, were employed, when not occupied about their household affairs or farms, in spinning their master’s wool into yarn by hand, which was regularly carried to this market and sold to the clothiers here, and others who came from Old Cleeve, Williton, Putsham, Wiveliscombe, and other places.”¹

The periodical courts of the borough of Dunster are mentioned by the name of the ‘portmote’ in 1279, when its pleas and perquisites were valued at 30s.² In 1330, they were valued at 5l.³ The rolls of the fifteenth century show very much larger profits to the lord.

The two principal courts of the year, ‘law-days,’ or courts leet ‘with view of frank-pledge,’ were that of Hocktide, about a fortnight after Easter, and that of Michaelmas term, usually held on the Monday after the feast of St. Luke (October 18). The court next after either of these was sometimes styled in Latin ‘*curia completa*,’ or in English ‘the fulfilling day.’ Other courts were held throughout the year at intervals of not less than three weeks. The lord’s steward was of course the president at all the courts alike. The bailiff was also invariably present. A jury of twelve freemen attended at the two principal courts and sometimes at the two courts that followed them. At the meeting in October, election was made of the officers of the borough, two constables of the peace, two bread-weighers and two ale-tasters, in the fourteenth century. To these were added, in the reign

¹ *History of the Hundred of Carhampton*, p. 383.

² Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I., file

22 (1).

³ *Ibid.* C. Edw. III. file 22 (11).

of Henry the Fourth, two surveyors of victuals or keepers of the shambles, and, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, two keepers of the streets.

It was the duty of the constables to 'present,' or report, all breaches of the peace, with a view to the amercement of the offenders, and to confiscate any weapon used. Their action was independent of such proceedings as the aggrieved parties might take in the court against their assailants. Persons of all ranks appear in the lists of presentments :—

1410, October 23. "Richard the chaplain of Lullokesburg drew blood of Laurence Scolemayster with his fist, contrary to the peace."

1411, March 16. "John Spere chaplain drew a knife against John Loty, contrary to the peace. Therefore he is in mercy, 6*d*. And John Loty drew a dagger—forfeited to the lord—against John Spere chaplain. Therefore he is in mercy, 6*d*."¹

It was the duty of the bread-weighers to present any bakers who sold loaves of insufficient size or bad quality. The ale-tasters used to 'present' brewers and ale-wives who tapped their barrels before the contents had been examined, those who refused to supply samples, those who made use of unauthorised measures and those who sold beer in houses undistinguished by a signboard.

1409, October. "Elizabeth Jone who had ale for sale in a tavern refused it to Thomas Paccehole and afterwards sold six gallons—which are forfeited—from the same tavern. Therefore she is in mercy, 12*d*."²

Beer was indeed a source of considerable profit to the lords of Dunster in the fifteenth century. At court after court, fines were imposed upon persons

¹ D.C.M. x. 3.

² D.C.M. x. 3.

‘presented’ for having ‘brewed and broken the assise.’ On one occasion, no less than eighty-six persons were for this reason required to pay 6*d.* apiece, but it is clear that they were not regarded as moral delinquents, the bailiff’s presentments of them being quite distinct from the ale-tasters’ presentments of dishonest publicans. The amount of the fines imposed upon respectable householders generally varied according to the number of times on which they had committed a purely technical offence.¹ In the reign of Henry the Sixth, these fines were payable to the Constable of the Castle. Butchers were sometimes amerced for selling meat at home, instead of bringing it to market. They were also liable to get into trouble if they removed the skins of the slaughtered beasts and tried to sell them separately. The consumers on the other hand were free to recover some of their outlay. So it was that, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the steward of the household of Sir Hugh Luttrell used to sell hides, calf-skins, and woolfells, after sending beef, veal and mutton into the kitchen.²

1408, May 8. “John Diere, a common fisherman, went away with his fish, in prejudice of the town and contrary to the custom of the borough. Therefore he is in mercy, 4*d.*”

1424, October 23. “Walter Phelp, Walter Stone, Philip Cras, John Oldley, tenants of the lord, sold their fish to strangers before offering (*protul*) it in the lord’s court at the Castle, contrary to the ancient ordinance. Therefore they are in mercy, 6*d.* 4*d.* 6*d.* 3*d.*”

The jury usually endorsed the presentments made by the elected officers of the borough. In a few instances they disagreed with the constables with regard to assaults. The supplementary presentments made by them, are far more varied and interesting than

¹ D.C.M. xii. 1-4.

² D.C.M. xxxvii. 7.

those made by the officers. The commonest offences, reported time after time, were the laying of dung in the streets, the obstruction of gutters, and the pollution of streams. Then again the principal burgesses, from the Benedictine Prior downwards, were frequently amerced for allowing their pigs to roam at large in the town, although it might have been argued that there were no better scavengers. Some topographical information is to be gleaned from precepts to particular persons to repair specified roads and bridges. The jury were always severe against persons who tried to carry on more than one trade, against 'forestallers' who intercepted provisions on the way to the market, and 'regraters' who bought wholesale in the morning with a view to selling later in the day at an enhanced price. The ordinary buyer was to be protected against speculators of all sorts.

In imposing penalties on individuals, the jury was often satisfied to rely upon common report, without requiring evidence of the commission of a specific offence. Thus a petty pilferer, or 'holcrop', might be amerced upon general grounds.¹

1408, May. "Ellen Watkyns is a common 'holcrope' of divers things and a common scold and disturber of the peace. Therefore she is in mercy, 4*d*.... Geoffrey Taillour is a common night-walker and disturber of the peace. Therefore he is in mercy, half a mark."²

1443, April 8. "John [Towker, 'coryser,' servant of William Bedewyn] is a common spy or listener at the windows of the neighbours, and likewise a common night-walker and eavesdropper (*ascultator*). Therefore he is in mercy, 3*s*. 4*d*."³

1493, August 5. "Order John Huyshe and Jerard Goldesmyth that henceforth they do not allow their wives

¹ The obscure word 'holcrop' occurs hampton.
also in the court rolls of the manor of

² D.C.M. x. 3.

Minehead, and of the hundred of Car-

³ D.C.M. xii. 3.

to quarrel or to use opprobrious or scandalous words against their neighbours or them (*seipsos*), under pain of either of them delinquent in the matter of 20s. to be paid to the lord.”¹

From time to time the constables were directed by the court to eject notorious scolds from the borough. On rarer occasions the court displayed solicitude as to the private morals of individual householders. Under an ancient regulation, no burgess was allowed to entertain a stranger for more than three days and three nights without reporting him to the constables. On the other hand two men were amerced 3*d.* apiece, in 1412, for refusing to receive certain pilgrims.

Men were liable to amercement if they refused to serve as watchmen at the time of the Midsummer bonfires. In the autumn, labourers were often fined 3*d.* apiece for going away ‘eastward’, with a view to getting higher wages as harvesters than they could get at Dunster.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the court made various ordinances for the good government of the borough, some of which may be quoted here :—

1467, April 20. “That nobody shall henceforth put dung, straw, or other nuisances in the water running to the lord’s mills at any time of the week, save after (*citra*) one o’clock after noon on Saturday ; and that the whole ‘flode-yate’ standing in the same water shall be open by (*erga*) the aforesaid hour ; under pain of all those who can be found in default of 6*d.* to be paid to the lord.”²

1489, May 11. “That nobody dwelling beside the lord’s water between the tenement of William Symes and the lord’s mill shall throw any dirt or straw into the water there during the week, save on Sunday after two o’clock after noon, under pain of every one delinquent therein of 12*d.* every time.”

1490. October 22. “That nobody shall henceforth throw

¹ D.C.M. XIII. I.

² D.C.M. XII. 3.

any dirt into the water running to the lord's mill, save only on Saturday after twelve o'clock, under pain of 40*d*."

1496, October 24. "That nobody shall henceforth put or throw any dirt or dung in the water running to the lord's mills save only on Saturday at the second hour after dinner, under pain of 3*d*. as often as anyone shall happen to be found in default herein."

1486, April 17. "That nobody shall henceforth put or throw any ashes with fire on any 'donghill' within the town, under pain of 40*d*."

1493, October 21. "That nobody in the borough shall henceforth make a fire outside the chimney, in any house covered with thatch (*stramine*), under pain of 20*s*."

1488, April 29. "That nobody shall henceforth winnow (*ventulat*) his grain in 'le Castell Bayly' and at 'le Barrys' unless he forthwith remove the chaff arising therefrom, under pain of every one delinquent therein of 12*d* every time."

1486, April 17. "That nobody shall henceforth break the palings of the lord's park or carry them away, or have any gates or footpaths in the lord's park, without licence, save the parker of the same, under pain of 40*d*."

1489, October 22. "That nobody shall henceforth sell any loads of furze called 'trusses' beyond 2½*d*. under pain of 12*d*. of the seller and the buyer alike."

1491, April 25. "That nobody resident (*manens*) in the borough, who is not a burgess, shall henceforth cut or dig heath on Crowdon for sale, but only for his own use, under pain of 40*d*; and that no stranger resident without the borough shall henceforth cut or dig heath or turf on Crowdon, unless he be hired by burgesses of the aforesaid borough, under pain of 6*s*. 8*d*."

1489, October 22. "That nobody of the country (*patrie*) shall henceforth buy any grain in the market before ten o'clock, under pain of 40*d*."

1496, October 24. "That no baker in the borough shall henceforth buy grain in the market, or go into the market to buy any grain therein before eleven o'clock, under pain of 6*s*. 8*d*. one half to be paid to the lord and the other half to the church."

1489, October 22. "That nobody shall henceforth keep in his service any Irish servants, save one, under pain of 10s."

1492, May. "That nobody shall henceforth keep greyhounds (*leporarios sive leporarias*) in the borough unless he can spend 40s. of yearly income (*redditus*) under pain of 6s. 8d."¹

1472, October 19. "That nobody shall henceforth use or carry swords, lances, 'gleyves,' or other defensible and unlawful arms, contrary to the statute of our lord the king provided in this respect, under pain of forfeiture of the same and 6s. 8d. for every offence of this sort, to be paid to the lord as often as discovery shall be made."

"And it is ordained likewise by the court, with the assent of the twelve jurors and the other officers (aforesaid) that no man shall henceforth shoot with his bows (*arquis*) and arrows in the churchyard of Dunster, or unlawfully practice games there, under pain of 40d.

"And it is ordained likewise by the court, with the assent of the twelve jurors (aforesaid) that nobody in the borough shall henceforth play at dice or cards (*cardos*), under pain of every one who shall be found in default thus of 6s. 8d. And that nobody shall allow games of this sort to be practised in his house, save during twelve days at Christmas, under pain of 10s." ²

1491, October 24. "That nobody shall henceforth play at dice or cards in the borough, save only during ten days at Christmas, under pain of every one who shall so play of 40d. every time, and of every one of those who shall allow such games in their houses of 6s. 8d." ³

In the interest of the lord, the court of the borough of Dunster occasionally reported on treasure trove, on felons' goods, and other accidental sources of profit. As between individuals, it heard pleas of assault, trespass, debt, detinue, breach of covenant, and other

¹ D.C.M. XIII. I. This local ordinance was a belated echo of a statute of 1389 which was confirmed in 1419. St. 13. Ric. II. no. 1. cap. 13; *Rotuli Parlia-*

mentorum, vol. iii. p. 273; vol. iv. p. 122.

² D.C.M. XII. 4.

³ D.C.M. XIII. I.

matters. The rolls, however, give very little information about private suits, beyond the mere names of the parties. It seems clear that they were kept mainly to record the fees and the amercements accruing to the lord.

When John Luttrell succeeded his father, Sir Hugh, in 1430, the bailiff was ordered to distrain the Abbot of Cleeve and many other freeholders to do fealty to him at the next court.¹ Suitors who did not attend were liable to a fine of 3*d.* in the fifteenth century, but the more substantial of them found it preferable to compound for their absence for a twelvemonth by a single payment of 4*d.* 6*d.* or 1*s.* according to circumstances. In 1517, Sir John Trevelyan went to the trouble of obtaining a writ 'of provision' from Westminster, directing the 'bailiffs' of the borough of Dunster to admit his attorney, the 'common council' of the realm having provided that every free man owing suit to the court of a superior lord might appoint another person to appear in his stead.² This did not tend to raise the credit of the borough court in local estimation.

For more than a century after the reign of Henry the Eighth, the records of this court are very scanty, but there are brief notes of pleas of debt heard therein in the reign of Elizabeth. The staff of officers elected annually seems to have been increased, about 1616, by the appointment of two searchers and sealers of leather.³ In 1617 and the following year, the deputy of the Clerk of the Market of the King's Household attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the constables of the borough, but George Luttrell applied to the Exchequer for redress, contending with truth that he

¹ D.C.M. XII. 2.

² D.C.M. XIII. 3. The reference seems

to be to the Statute of Merton of 1236.

³ D.C.M. III. 13.

and his ancestors, lords of Dunster, had been used "to keepe courtes leete" there twice a year from time out of mind.¹

By the time of Charles the Second, the borough court had lost much of its ancient authority, and its meetings had become reduced to two in the year, one in Easter term and the other in Michaelmas term, survivals of the 'lawdays' of the middle ages. Successive stewards seem to have introduced various changes of name and practice. In 1682, the amerancements for non-attendance were 6*d.* apiece for free suitors and 3*d.* for other 'resiants,' or residents, within the borough. 'The lord's tenants,' that is to say lease-holders, were afterwards subjected to a fine of 1*s.* apiece for similar default. In 1732, there is mention of "the jury at a court leet and court baron held for the borough," and seven years later a nominal distinction was established between the court leet for the borough and the court baron of the manor, the former having a 'jury' of twelve men and the latter a 'homage' of four or five, not always capable of signing their own names. Both were, however, summoned for the same day and place. The court in Easter term was discontinued in 1762.

The records of the borough court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries afford some scraps of topographical information, but are otherwise rather monotonous. The bread-weighters, as of old, used to 'present' bakers who sold loaves below the prescribed standard. The clerks of the market were also watchful over weights and measures. The ale-tasters used to demand from the different publicans a sample quart of beer, or a penny, "according to the custom of the manor." The street-keepers had frequent occasion to complain

¹ Exchequer Decrees and Orders, Series II, vol. 28, f. 105.

of persons who laid dung on the public thoroughfares, or washed sheepskins in "the Dunster river." For their guidance an order was made in 1712 as follows:—

"That the street-keepers shall not exact or receive more than one penny for one pig, and proportionably for any number they shall take up within the burrough, besides the duty to the bayliff for the pound."

Sometimes the elected officers were themselves charged with neglect of their respective duties. Nor was the lord of the manor always immune. Formal presentments were occasionally made that he had failed to keep the pavement of Market Street in proper condition, and that he had not repaired the stocks, the pillory and the cucking-stool, "instruments of justice." On the other hand the court was jealous of his rights and would not suffer encroachment on his waste by the erection of 'leaping-stocks' or otherwise. In 1714, several persons were presented for erecting porches in the street beyond the line of their pent-houses, and for setting up sign-posts before their respective doors.

In the nineteenth century, the court leet and the court baron sat together, once a year. The chief business of the former was to impose fines of 4*d.* apiece on all male residents in Dunster between the ages of fourteen and seventy who had failed to appear. In point of fact the collector was usually satisfied if he could levy 1*d.* to maintain the principle that suit was due. The court baron affected to impose fines of 2*s.* 6*d.* on freeholders and 1*s.* on leaseholders who did not attend. The same persons often served on the jury and on the homage. After transacting a minimum of purely formal business in the Town-hall, the members used to adjourn to the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*, to be regaled at the cost of the lord of the manor. The

courts, having long ceased to be of any use whatever, were discontinued in 1891.

The periodical courts of the borough were, in the middle ages, quite distinct from those of the manor. The reeve of Dunster, the acting chief of the agricultural community was, in 1183, fined for exporting corn from the realm.¹ In the various court-rolls, accounts, and 'extents' of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries that have been preserved at the Public Record Office and in the muniment-room at the Castle, there seems at first sight to be a serious confusion between the manors of Dunster and Carhampton. Considering that many manors had outlying members, the mere fact that Gillcotts at the eastern end of Carhampton is at one time reckoned as part of Dunster, while at another time Carhampton is made to include Conigar, in the very heart of Dunster, would not of themselves present any difficulty, if the documents did not appear to contradict each other on points of greater importance, such as the situation of the mills. The explanation is, however, very simple. For agricultural and economic purposes, there was no distinction between Carhampton and that part of Dunster which lay without the borough.

"The delimitation of one manor from other manors of the same lord seems to be a matter of convenience: one may become two, two may become one, as the lord chooses to have his accounts kept, his rents collected, his produce garnered in this way or in that."²

The manors of Dunster and Carhampton were for centuries administered as one estate, the reeve taking his title sometimes from one place, sometimes from the other. Whenever there is a reeve's account for

¹ Pipe Roll.

² Pollock & Maitland's *History of*

English Law, vol. i. p. 604.

one, there is none for the other, the two series of accounts being in fact a single series, through which certain yearly receipts and payments can be traced continuously.¹

In the reign of Richard the Second, the courts of the combined manors of Dunster and Carhampton used to be attended by the tithingmen of Carhampton and Rodhuish, the woodwards of Langcombe and Langridge, the parker of Marshwood and the gardener of Lady de Mohun.

The rural population of the combined manors of Dunster and Carhampton comprised two classes of tenants, the freeholders, and those who held upon servile conditions. The former are in 1266 styled "tenants by charter." Some of them paid rents in money quarterly, some half-yearly, and some at Michaelmas only. There were also various rents payable in kind, such as capons, wax, and pepper. Almost all the freeholders owed suit of court twice a year at Hocktide (soon after Easter) and Michaelmas.

The quarterly rents paid by the customary tenants or villeins amounted to more than those paid by the freeholders. Certain sums were also levied from them at Michaelmas under the name of 'larder-silver.' The value of the work which different persons had to do for the lord was approximately equal to their rent. Among the services enumerated in 1266 are ploughing in winter, harrowing, weeding, sowing in Lent, mowing, spreading and carrying hay, making the hay-rick, reaping wheat, barley and oats, cleansing the weir on the river, digging in the vineyard, and gathering withies for hurdles. One tenant was bound to provide a man, horse and wagon, when necessary,

¹ Prynn increased the difficulty of search by mixing the accounts of the reeve of Dunster with those of the bailiff of the borough.

to go as far as Bridgewater in one direction, or the border of the county on the road to Exeter in another. Philip the Carter was similarly bound to deliver writs issued in the lord's name. In consideration of the rent and services minutely specified, each of the peasants had his own piece of land. All their holdings were small. Wymarca of Marshwood held half a virgate of land, which in this district meant twenty-four acres.¹ Eleven others held a ferling, that is to say twelve acres, apiece. Sixteen others held six acres apiece, and there were some who held even less. The 'extent' unfortunately says nothing as to the length of tenure enjoyed by these different persons, or as to the profits accruing to the lord upon the death of any of them.²

Those of the peasants who had to devote an exceptional amount of time and labour to the service of the lord had some special exemptions and privileges.

"Whosoever shall be reeve of Dunsterre shall be quit of rent and all his other services, and shall have food (*esculenta*) in the Castle when the lord and lady are staying there. And he shall have throughout the year at the cost of the lord a mare of his without provender (*unam equam suam sine prebend'*).

"Whosoever shall be hayward (*messor*) shall be quit of rent and of service, and shall have a virgate of meadow in Karemor, and a moiety of a 'logge' there beside the hayrick, containing seven feet in length and seven feet in breadth, to guard the lord's meadow covered with hay; and he shall have a 'stathel' of the said rick of the depth of about a foot. And he shall have 'landweyes' everywhere except in Prestelonde where the lord cannot plough; and at every boonwork of August a sheaf and [the like] at every

¹ In an 'extent' of the adjoining manor of Minehead made in 1300, it is specifically stated that half a virgate contained twenty-four acres, and that a ferling contained twelve acres. D.C.M. xxvi. 2.

² In the 'extent' mentioned in the previous note there is a statement that "if the lord shall wish to have a keeper of the water of La Waterlete, he (the keeper) shall have a 'slabb' of iron to make his spade (*bescam*)."

boonwork for carrying the lord's corn. And it is worth 3s. 8d. And he has in La Waterlete a cow quit of herbage. And it is worth 6d.

"Whosoever shall be bedel shall be quit of rent and service and shall have a virgate in Karamor and a cow there and a moiety of the said 'logge,' and a sheaf as above, and his dinner.

"Whosoever shall be keeper of La Waterlete shall be quit of rent and service and shall have a cow in La Waterlete and a 'slab' of iron for the repair of his spade (*bescam*) of the price of 2½d. and dinner as above.

"The carpenter shall make four ploughs (*faciet iiij carucas et exallar*) with all the gear (*atillo*), a cart (*carettam*) for dung (*fyma*), and four wagons and all reins, and the outer gate of the Barton, and he shall be quit of rent and service, and shall have a virgate in Karamor and a cow in Waterlete and dinner as above.

"Whosoever shall be a ploughman (*carucarius*) shall be quit of rent and service and [shall have the use of the plough] the second Saturday throughout the year." ¹

In an account of the reeve of Dunster and Carhampton for 1259, he credits himself in the first instance :—

"In the allowance of works for a year for the reeve, the bedel of Karempton, the carpenter, the hayward (*haywardo*), six ploughmen, and the keeper of the water, 23s."

Inasmuch as he does not debit himself with any pecuniary receipts for 'works' sold or commuted, it would appear that at this date the lord's demesne was actually cultivated by the villeins, his customary tenants. Their obligatory services were, however, insufficient for the purpose, and the reeve had to employ some men on task-work (*ad tascham*), for which they were duly paid. The rental of Carhampton, which included the agricultural part of Dunster,

¹ D.C.M. viii. 4 ; *Custumals of Batlle Abbey* (ed. Bird), p. 66.

was then 14*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.* in money, besides rents in capons, fowls, pepper and wax.¹

Twenty years later, the pecuniary rents are carefully divided—5*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* from free men and 11*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* from villeins, whose customary works were valued at a further sum of 11*l.* 11*s.* 5¼*d.*

The lord's demesne then comprised various woods and pastures and 493 acres of land, varying in value from 1¼*d.* to 6*d.*² An inquisition of 1330 states that 100 acres of arable land there were worth 4*d.* apiece, and that 300 other acres were worth 6*d.* while 58½ acres of meadow were worth as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* apiece. The 'works' of the customary tenants were then valued at 10*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*³ There are no accounts extant to show how much of the agricultural work on the demesne was actually done by the villeins in the middle of the fourteenth century. It is, however, tolerably certain that, as money decreased in value, they availed themselves more and more of the right of commuting their personal services for pecuniary payments upon a scale fixed long before. In course of time, moreover, many of them surrendered their holdings and took them back upon new conditions, to be held 'according to the custom of the manor' and 'by copy of court-roll.'⁴

Several incidental mentions of the Barton, or home-farm, of the medieval lords of Dunster show that it stood under the shadow of the Tor near the Barn-bridge over the river, a little to the north of the grist-mills. A gate led thence into the Hanger Park.⁵ There was also a court and grange at Marsh belonging to the Castle.⁶ In many manors, such as Minehead,

¹ D.C.M. xvii. 2.

² Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 22 (1).

³ *Ibid.* C. Edw. III. file 22 (11).

⁴ D.C.M. xviii. 5, 6.

⁵ D.C.M. xi. 3.

⁶ D.C.M. xviii. 2.

small pieces of the demesne were intermingled with plots of land belonging to different tenants. In Dunster and Carhampton, however, most of the demesne consisted of large fields enclosed by hedges. One outlying piece of pasture called 'Kingsallers' recalls by its name the fact that Carhampton had belonged to William the Conqueror and to King Edward before him. Another piece of the demesne was known as 'Old Court.' The Waterlete already mentioned lay to the north-east of the town and was divided into three fields, Chapelwaterlete, comprising about 96 acres near Giltchapel, Chiselwaterlete, nearer to the sea, and Marshwaterlete, near Marsh, each of these two comprising about 69 acres. All three were well irrigated and very fertile. These, with perhaps some others, were known for centuries as 'the lord's fields.' The common fields, divided into strips, were mostly on the north side of Grabbist.

In the later part of the fourteenth century, Lady de Mohun, having left Dunster and closed the Castle, virtually ceased to maintain the farm there. The demesne was let in sections, and the rent therefrom was sent to her in London or in Kent. Under these circumstances, it would have been difficult to maintain an effective claim upon the services of villeins. By 1377, the number of 'autumn works' in this manor had, through various causes, fallen to forty-nine and a half, which were 'sold,' or commuted, for 2*d.* apiece. Most of these were practically remitted in the following year, when the Waterletes were let "to divers tenants," probably some of the very persons who were liable for their cultivation. Under the system then introduced, the owner of the Castle got 2*s.* 6*d.* from every acre sown in the spring and reaped in the summer, with something additional for the right of

turning beasts on to the land in autumn and winter. Each of these three great fields was in turn allowed to lie fallow for a year.¹

Sir Hugh Luttrell did not materially alter the agricultural arrangements which he found in force when he obtained the Mohun estate. Maintaining a home-farm at East Quantockshead, he made no attempt to grow cereals on the demesne at Dunster, or to keep cattle or sheep there. Hay was, however, necessary for his horses, and so he took some of the meadows into his own hands. He also resumed possession of various pieces of the demesne adjoining the Hanger Park, for the enlargement of it and for the use of his household. In his time, certain tenants at Broadwood paid 2*s.* 9*d.* year after year for 'autumn works' commuted into money.² Occasional services known as 'boonworks' were sometimes exacted from the customary tenants now greatly reduced in number. Ten men who were called upon to dig in Chapelwaterlete in 1415 '*de prece*', received only two pennyworth of bread. Some men and women working in the same year among the beans in the field known as Avelham were given mutton, pork, oatmeal, bread, cheese, salt and beer, but no wages.³

In the inquisitions taken after the deaths of Sir Hugh Luttrell in 1428 and Sir John Luttrell in 1430, 'rents of assise' amounting to 10*l.* 5*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* are described as payable by free tenants. There is, however, no mention of villeins or copyholders. On the other hand, the demesne at Dunster and Carhampton is returned as larger than on former occasions, and the lord is credited with owning no less than sixty-six messuages of the yearly value of 8*d.* apiece.⁴ Al-

¹ D.C.M. ix. 3; xiv. 15, 19.

² D.C.M. x. 1.

³ D.C.M. xi. 1.

⁴ Inq. post mortem, 6 Hen. VI. no. 32;
9 Hen. VI. no. 51.

though the villein could obtain protection in the manorial court, the royal courts were wont to regard his land as part of the lord's demesne.¹ None of the local rolls contain any reference to the fact that Carhampton had formed part of the 'ancient demesne' of the Crown, which might have conferred certain privileges on the tenants.²

There are several references to villeinage in the court-rolls of Dunster and Carhampton in the reign of Henry the Sixth. In 1439, Nicholas son of Payn Ekedene paid 3s. 4d. as head-money for leave to be absent for a twelvemonth.³ Ten years later, there is the following entry :—

"The bailiff is in mercy because he has not distrained John Stone, the lord's bondman of blood, to answer the lord for having sent his son John to the schools without licence, contrary to the custom, 3d." ⁴

The roll for 1429 contains a full transcript of an inquisition taken at Crowcombe before the steward of Richard Biccombe, lord of that manor, certifying that a certain Richard West and his sons had always been free men.⁵ Some member of the family may have wished to migrate.

One of the most onerous conditions of unfree status was the liability of having to serve as reeve. His duty it was to exact from the other villeins the manual works that they owed to the lord, and it is easy to imagine the bickering that must have arisen when he called men away from their little holdings. One might dispute the amount of service claimed ; another might simply attempt to procrastinate, so as to be able to attend to his own crops in favourable weather.

¹ Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, vol. i. p. 363.

³ D.C.M. xviii. 4.

⁴ D.C.M. xviii. 6.

⁵ D.C.M. xviii. 5.

² *Ibid.* pp. 383-406.

Small wonder then that the more prosperous villeins were generally anxious to avoid an unprofitable and thankless task. In 1430, nobody could be found to undertake it at Carhampton, and the 'homage' was accordingly amerced at the 'lawday' of Michaelmas term.¹ As the lands held in villeinage were gradually converted into copyholds in the reign of Henry the Sixth, the tenants, taking them under fresh conditions, were careful to stipulate in court that they and their successors should not be called upon to serve the office of reeve.² This led to a fresh tax upon those who had not been thus emancipated. In the account for 1460, the heading "new rent" records the receipt of a shilling apiece from thirty-eight persons for exemption from service as reeve of Dunster and Carhampton.³ An exactly similar levy was made at Minehead in the following year.⁴ Considering that there could not be more than one reeve in each manor, it seems obvious that the lord got a fresh source of income. The "new rent for dyscharging of the reveshippe" is mentioned in the Carhampton accounts as late as 1529.⁵ By this time conditions had altered so materially that no reeve was really wanted. Rents of assise "both of freemen and bondmen (*nativorum*)" are mentioned in 1533.⁶

There is a memorandum of the year 1648 that a certain Rice Richards, who then held a house in Gallockstreet at Dunster on a lease for lives, was bound "to pay, besides 4s. rent per annum, one journey with a horse and cart or butt from Minehead, or 12*d.* in lieu thereof per annum."⁷

In addition to the customary services and 'boon-

¹ D.C.M. XVIII. 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ D.C.M. XVIII. 4.

⁴ D.C.M. I. 27.

⁵ D.C.M. XIX. 4, 8; XX. 38.

⁶ D.C.M. XIX. 9.

⁷ D.C.M. III. 12.

works' of villeins in Dunster and Carhampton, the medieval lord of the manor received some agricultural help from men of a much higher social position. By a somewhat uncommon arrangement, the Prior of the Benedictine cell at Dunster, the lords of the manors of Avill and Withycombe, and the owner of land called Gillcotts (Gildencote) were alike bound to provide a wagon with two men and eight oxen to carry corn or hay for a day apiece. Inasmuch as the Mohuns and their successors, the Luttrells, had to supply food for the wagoners, these 'carriage-works' were valued at only a shilling apiece.¹ In 1376, one of them was actually performed, the other three being 'sold,' or commuted. The history of the work due from the manor of Withycombe is obscure, and the works due from Gillcotts and the Prior of Dunster cannot have continued after the acquisition of both these places by the Luttrells in the sixteenth century. With regard to the fourth work, however, there is an interesting entry in a rental of 1648, showing that John Stocker, esquire, paid a shilling a year as a 'high rent' in respect of Avill to George Luttrell, as lord of the manor of Carhampton Barton. This was quite distinct from his feodary rent to the Barony of Dunster, his common fine to the Hundred of Carhampton, and his Candlemas rent.² Although he was presumably ignorant of its origin, it may clearly be said to represent the old commutation for non-performance of a 'carriage-work.' By 1746, it had disappeared from the rental.

The Mohun Cartulary contains a copy of part of a very curious treatise on husbandry written in French in the first half of the fourteenth century for the

¹ D.C.M. ix. 2, 3; xviii. 2, 4; xix. 4; xx. 38; xxxii. 13.

² D.C.M. iii. 12.

benefit of the lord of Dunster or one of his principal agents. In explaining the system that should be followed, it probably illustrates that which was in force at the time. The earlier portion being unfortunately missing, the document deals only with arrangements subsequent to the harvest. It prescribes three valuations of the crops to be made after the gathering of them into barns, and before the threshing. The first of these was to be made by the sworn 'homage,' men presumably chosen at the court baron of the manor. The writer, however, states that it would not be well to attach too much credit to this valuation, as the members of the 'homage' might be afraid of being held responsible if the yield should not eventually come up to their expectations. The second valuation was to be made by the bailiff, sworn upon the book of the Gospels. The third was to be made by the auditors of the lord's accounts, or, in their absence, by the steward or the constable, with two or three trustworthy neighbours experienced in such matters, and two or three of the older threshers who knew the barns and were competent to estimate the yield of every sheaf and mow (*chescun tasse e meye*). After these three valuations, the lord would be able, with the advice of his council, to say how much grain would be wanted for his household, and how much could be offered for sale.

The treatise then prescribes the appointment by the lord and his council of a faithful 'granger,' who was to be supplied with a horse. It was considered that one such officer would suffice for the manors of Dunster, Minehead, and Kilton, all belonging to the Mohun demesne. When the lord or the lady was in residence at the Castle, he was to have his meals at their board ; at other times he was to eat in

the Benedictine Priory, or, failing this, in the house of some respectable townsman, avoiding, however, the tables of the bailiff and the reeve, so that he should not be tempted into dishonest ways. These arrangements suggest that the granger was not to be one of the tenants ordinarily resident on the spot.

The granger was to be made to swear that whenever he should come to Dunster to superintend the threshing, he would securely lock and seal the doors of the barns every evening. Furthermore, he was not to be trusted with the custody of the keys, and he was to be required to deliver them duly sealed to the constable of the Castle, to the Prior, or to some other trusty person nominated by the lord. When at Minehead or at Kilton for a like purpose, boarding with the Vicar, he was to deliver the keys to his host every evening. Considering that these parsons were not dependent upon the lord of Dunster, it may seem strange that they should be expected to receive his servant and undertake responsibility on his behalf.

The treatise alludes more than once to a '*chariour e bernbrutte*,' who seems to have had some authority over the threshers. Among various sayings quoted by the author, there is one to the effect that even if a man employed his own brother as a thresher he must watch him with eyes before and behind. The husks were to be re-threshed if necessary, and no residues were to be given away for the sustenance of the destriers, palfreys, or horses of the steward, the constable, the bailiff or the reeve. Placed in a separate store-house, they would be useful for the lord's capons, hens, chickens and pigeons.

Another saying quoted runs :—

“ *Qui de poy ne tient conte
de leger va a haunte.* ”

The anonymous author suggests that the bailiff or some other officer should, during the threshing in August, cause the produce of every tenth or twentieth sheaf of corn to be put aside, as a criterion of the amount that the whole crop should yield. The bailiff and the 'chariour' or 'bernbrutte' were alike to be forbidden to distribute or sell grain to any person whatever otherwise than by the standard bushel sanctioned by royal ordinance, "without heap or cantle."

The treatise concludes with a recommendation that the 'launds' of Marshwood Park, comprising four hundred acres, should be ploughed and sown, and that the remainder of it should be enclosed to contain the deer. If cowhouses and storehouses were established there, Marshwood might, in the writer's opinion, be made to yield more profit than all the demesne of Dunster.

Among the endowments given by William de Mohun to the monks of Bath, before the year 1100, was the tithe of his vines at Dunster, which would not have been mentioned in his charter unless accounted of some value.¹ The expense of cultivating the vineyard there and the sale of the local wine are alike mentioned in 1177.² An 'extent' of the manor of Dunster made in 1266, shows that thirty-four of the villeins were required to dig half a perch apiece in the lord's vineyard (*in vite*) every year, each of these works being assessed at $\frac{1}{2}d$.³ It further states that the vineyard comprised seven acres.⁴ The produce of the vineyard was, in 1279, valued at 18s.⁵ In 1284, there is mention of a wine-press (*pressorium*)

¹ *Two Chartularies of Bath* (S.R.S.), C. no. 34.

² Pipe Roll, 23 Hen. II.

³ D.C.M. VIII. 4.

⁴ Mohun Cartulary.

⁵ Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file 22 (1).

and in 1376 of a 'keeper of the vines' who received a regular salary, his duties doubtless requiring special skill and care.¹ The exact position of the Dunster vineyard is specified in a deed of the year 1419, which shows it to have occupied the sunny slope at the back of the house now known as the *Luttrell Arms Hotel*.² There was also a vineyard at Minehead, and the last Lady de Mohun used to have wine sent to her therefrom after she had ceased to reside in Somerset.³

Her successor at Dunster, Sir Hugh Luttrell, eventually abolished the vineyard, turning it into ordinary pasture within the Hanger Park. He had crossed the seas several times, and he may well have preferred the wine of Bordeaux to any that could be made on his own estate. The name of 'le Wynard,' however, survived some time in the yearly accounts of the reeve of Carhampton Barton and Dunster.⁴

A rental of the manor of Carhampton Barton in 1648, and a survey made seven years later, show several classes of tenants. A few freeholders were still paying 'high rents' of small amount although of great antiquity. There were forty-seven copyhold estates and twenty-eight leasehold estates. Practically, however, there was not much difference between them. Copyholders and leaseholders alike paid low rents, the lord exacting a heavy fine on the expiration of a tenancy, and a heriot on the death of each tenant of an estate created for two or three lives. By this date the manor had ceased to extend beyond the limits of the parish, though in itself much smaller than the parish. In at least one of the subsisting leases there was a stipulation that the tenant should have her corn ground at the Dunster mill. In other respects,

¹ Miscellanea (Chancery), bundle 3, no. 21, (5-7); D.C.M. ix. 2.

² D.C.M. i. 4; viii. 2.

³ D.C.M. xxvi. 2.

⁴ D.C.M. xi. 1; xviii. 2.

the separation of Carhampton from Dunster was complete. The manorial courts of Carhampton were discontinued in 1867.

A similar survey of the manor of Dunster in 1650 specifies thirty-one leasehold estates, yielding altogether only 12*l.* 17*s.* a year, held for lives and subject to fines on renewal and heriots on succession. The copyholders had entirely disappeared. On the other hand there is a list of "Dunster rents called St. Burye's Rents," collected quarterly by the bailiff of the borough.¹ Considering that there was no connexion between Dunster and the Cornish St. Buryan, the name seems at first sight rather puzzling. It appears, however, that, during the lifetime of the first Sir Hugh Luttrell, his eldest son, John, demised certain burgages and lands to Reynold Seynesbury and Margaret his wife, and afterwards settled them on their daughter, Catherine the wife of Thomas Cook of Exeter.² Some of the details of the transaction are obscure, but it seems to have comprised all lands in the western part of Dunster that were then in the lord's hand, either as part of the original demesne, as purchases, or as escheats. The accounts of the reign of Henry the Eighth record the receipt of rents for 'Saynsbery londes.'³

At the time of the Domesday Survey of 1086, there were two mills at 'Torre' which yielded 10*s.* a year to William de Mohun. The gradual but steady increase in their value is not without interest from an economical point of view. As early as the year 1279, it had risen to 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*⁴ In 1329, Sir John de Mohun demised his two corn-mills (*molyns blaers*) at Dunster, with the services of his men due

¹ D.C.M. III. 12.

² D.C.M. VIII. 2.

³ D.C.M. XIX. 9.

⁴ Inq. post mortem, C. Edw. I. file

22 (1).



THE GRIST-MILL.
DUNSTER.

thereto, to one of the burgesses named Walter Rughe, at a rent of 24 marks, that is to say 16*l*.¹ In 1405, the advisory council of Sir Hugh Luttrell granted a lease of them for sixty years at a rent of 10*l*. upon condition that the tenants should do all repairs, if supplied with such timber as might be necessary for the purpose.²

Inasmuch as the mills belonged absolutely to the lord, the rent arising from them was never confounded with the rent of the little freeholders. In some documents indeed it is entered under the heading of the manor of Carhampton Barton, as distinguished from that of the borough of Dunster.³ The 'services' mentioned above consisted of course in every tenant's bringing his corn to be ground at these mills. The privileged miller had no rivals to fear, the mill at Avill, in the parish of Dunster, being in a different manor, and not belonging to the lord of the Castle. Needless to say that the records of the court of Dunster contain frequent complaints that he levied exorbitant charges upon his helpless clients.

In 1427, William Person, the lessee of the two ancient mills, erected a third, adjoining the Lower Mill, the new rent of which was fixed at only 2*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. in consideration of his capital outlay.⁴ Thus in 1431 and long afterwards, there were three mills, known respectively as the 'Overmylle,' the 'Nethermylle,' and the 'Newmylle.'⁵ In 1620, the first of these was called 'the Higher Mill,' while the other two, united under one roof, were called 'the Lower Mill.'⁶ By 1739, the rent of the water grist-mills had been raised to 22*l*. In 1777, it was

¹ D.C.M. VIII. 2.

² D.C.M. x. 2.

³ D.C.M. XVIII. 2, 4; XIX. 9; Inq. post mortem, 9 Hen. VI. no. 51,

⁴ D.C.M. XI. 3; XVIII. 4.

⁵ Inq. post mortem, 9 Hen. VI. no. 51.

⁶ D.C.M. XV. 10.

35*l.* 10*s.* The Upper Mill has entirely disappeared. The Lower Mill, with two wheels, was partly rebuilt in 1801 upon the old site, and perhaps to some extent according to the old design, some of the windows being pointed. Nestling amid lofty trees immediately under the precipitous slope of the Tor, and close to a clear stream fringed with dock-leaves and meadow-sweet, the grist-mill of Dunster has long been a favourite subject with artists and photographers. In 1886, just eight hundred years after the compilation of Domesday Book, the rent of the mill was fixed at 40*l.*, eighty times the nominal amount of its value in the reign of William the Conqueror. The wheels, however, often stand idle nowadays, the lessee having a more important mill at Minehead.

A quaint little bridge, just below the mill, considerably altered by Henry Fownes Luttrell in the eighteenth century, may represent the Mill-bridge mentioned in medieval records.

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